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The Writings on the Wall: the Spatial and Literary Context of Domestic Graffiti from Pompeii

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The Writings on the Wall: the Spatial and Literary Context of Domestic Graffiti from Pompeii

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To Clayton, my parents, Rebecca Benefiel, and Mrs. Cathy Scaife

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Over 11,000 graffiti once covered the site of ancient Pompeii, inscribed upon many buildings in the city including houses, temples, and public buildings. Their messages include greetings, proclamations of love and desire, and bits of poetry. These inscriptions have fascinated scholars since the first walls were unearthed at Pompeii in the eighteenth century and this interest has yielded a wide array of methodologies and approaches. As archaeology has evolved over the centuries, so too has the approach to this material. The unique position of graffiti as objects of both philological and archaeological study has necessitated the need for a multidisciplinary approach. This dissertation recontextualizes Pompeian graffiti as artifacts and examines the distribution of graffiti within domestic space in Pompeii including the relationship between content and context.

Specifically, this dissertation examines a corpus of graffiti from twelve buildings in Pompeii. I analyze the locations of the graffiti and the rationale for these locations

using space syntax, a theory for analyzing the configuration of space. From an examination of their locations, I propose how the Pompeians used the spaces within these buildings and postulate how their use may have changed over time. This analysis indicates that, in general, Pompeians chose highly visible, accessible, and well-trafficked locations in which to write graffiti, indicating that writers of ancient graffiti, unlike many modern, wrote these messages in areas under surveillance. Visitors and inhabitants wrote them in areas where they would be seen doing so. Further analysis of the interaction between graffiti and their context shows that while these messages occupy highly visible areas, they were written in such a way as to not detract from the overall aesthetic appearance of the space. Close study of the content of the individual messages shows how the substance of the graffiti responded to the spaces in which they were written and the other graffiti written around them. This combination of archaeological and philological inquiry allows an identification of types of space and, to some degree, organization of movement within a space, which, in the absence of other artifacts, has been difficult to interpret.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Perhaps in the early morning hours of that fateful day in 79AD, a Pompeian wrote this graffito on the wall of the basilica in Pompeii:

> CIL IV 1904: *Admiror, O paries, te non cecidisse ruinis*
> *qui tot scriptorum taedia sustineas.*
>
> "I am astonished, oh wall, that you have not yet collapsed, since you are holding up the musings of so many writers!"

Luckily for archaeologists and perhaps unluckily for the writer of this graffito, the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius covered Pompeii and preserved this and more than 11,000 other graffiti on its walls. As the author realized, graffiti covered many buildings in the city including houses, temples, public buildings, and even tombs. Some are greetings to other citizens of the town, others are bits of poetry, and still others proclaim love, desire, contempt, or malice. These texts range from just a few letters to multiple lines of poetry. Drawings, too, proliferate through the city both individually and in conjunction with other writing.

The writers of Pompeian graffiti scratched or drew these messages throughout the public and private areas of the city.[1] Graffiti are found in virtually every type of space within the city including tombs, houses, and public buildings. A primary characteristic of this heterogeneous genre is its informality. These are not state- or city-sponsored texts,

[1] These messages are typically inscribed into the wall plaster by a sharp instrument or produced by another medium like charcoal Painted wall inscriptions include the *programmata*, a term for the political posters painted by *scriptores* on the façades of buildings. These are typically labeled *dipinti* rather than graffiti due to the difference in the means of production and the official nature of their composure. Charcoal graffiti, because they preserve very poorly, may have been much more numerous than is documented.

like many public inscriptions, but that does not disqualify them as purposeful writing. Indeed, many of the graffiti show careful planning and insight concerning the locations where they were written.

Ancient graffiti, perhaps more than any other genre of writing, are intimately tied to the places in which they were written. Many of the graffiti from Pompeii are greetings from one person to another. In a time without other easy means of communication, the wall plaster was a way to "talk" to someone not in the immediate vicinity and have that communication known to others. The greeter, it can be assumed, wrote the greeting in a place where its addressee, or perhaps an associate of the addressee, would see it. To separate this message, then, from the context of its production hampers our understanding of its purpose.

These informal texts, as Pompeii itself, have long been interesting to scholars and the public alike. Far removed from the elites who wrote the majority of extant Latin literature, they represent one of the only glimpses into everyday Roman life. In graffiti, we can hear the voices of the jealous lover, the busy slave, or braggart soldier of Roman comedy come to life. While past studies have isolated these graffiti as texts and focused only on what they say, I seek to analyze these graffiti in context to understand the very nature of graffiti writing in Pompeii. Where were these graffiti written? Why did the Pompeians write them in the places they did? Why did they write them at all?

The first two of this triad constitute essential research questions posed in this dissertation. I seek to understand the phenomenological aspects of graffiti writing in Pompeii as well as the use of space as it relates to graffiti writing. From an analysis of

the locations of the graffiti, I hope to suggest how the Pompeians used the spaces within these buildings and even postulate how that use may have changed over time.

My corpus of study consists of twelve buildings in Pompeii. All contain a medium-size sample of graffiti and are from different areas of the excavated city. This corpus is large enough to be representative and thus enables me to postulate trends about the location of Pompeian graffiti more generally. Although graffiti have often been studied by type or by house, there have been very few holistic studies of them from several buildings. This dissertation seeks to fill that void. By analyzing the graffiti in a sample of several houses, I can postulate larger trends of graffiti distribution and examine more closely the nature of graffiti writing in Pompeii as a whole. My approach to the material is multidisciplinary; I use archaeological methods of analyzing space as well as philological methods of studying the text of each graffito. In this way, my analysis mimics the nature of graffiti themselves: as artifacts between the philological and archaeological spheres.

1.1 What are ancient graffiti?

To many, the definition of "graffiti" seems obvious, as modern graffiti are ubiquitous in many urban landscapes. Modern definitions of this genre often include words such as "unauthorized" or "illicit" in describing this type of writing. Graffiti are also often described by their location on *public* surfaces. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary, for example, defines *graffito* as "an inscription or drawing made on some

public surface (as a rock or wall)."[2] This dissertation will inquire whether ancient graffiti should be considered "unauthorized" or entirely "public." The sheer numbers of ancient graffiti in the city, 11,000 by some counts, would suggest that graffiti were not unwelcome in private *domus* and public places.[3] As I will show, even some of the grandest homes in Pompeii have graffiti in both public reception spaces and more private, small rooms.[4]

(Illustration 1.1: Graffiti art, photo by the author)

The above photograph, of a sidewalk on the University of Texas campus, perfectly encapsulates the uniqueness of this genre. Ironically, a first writer has implored us to "stop graffiti," presumably as a joke. A second writer, or perhaps the first again, changes "graffiti" into "art." These two graffiti, surrounded by other painted graffiti (as

[2] "*Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th ed ,"graffito"
[3] (Kruschwitz 2010a) explores this question. Graffiti were not disapproved of in general though certainly in particular cases, especially on tombs.
[4] See also Benefiel 2010a and 2011.

evidenced in the bottom margin of the photograph), were scratched into the wet plaster of the sidewalk in much the same way ancient graffiti were inscribed into wall cement and illustrate the complex nature of graffiti as a form of writing and even art.

What are graffiti? What defines this genre of ancient writing? What is the purpose of such writing? Even today, there is some discomfort concerning the place of graffiti between vandalism and art. Graffiti artists such as Banksy play with such a dichotomy by creating works of pop art that interact with the walls on which they are written. Authorities often disapprove of and erase graffiti writing, but some examples, especially creative, funny, or artistic ones, are celebrated as city monuments. For example, an uproar occurred in the city of Austin when its beloved "Hi, how are you" graffito was "vandalized" by another graffito.

Just as modern graffiti hold an uneasy place between vandalism and art, ancient graffiti exist between text and artifact. On the one hand, ancient graffiti are clearly texts: words and symbols meant for communication. Yet, this is writing found as words not on a page but in space and buildings.

A recent debate in this field, one that early scholars took for granted, is the very definition of graffiti. As I have already suggested, most scholars would agree that modern definitions of this genre, especially in regards to an illicit or unauthorized nature, do not fit the ancient phenomenon. Many have characterized graffiti as writing in places it is not expected or does not belong, but the modern scholar must question whether this writing was in fact unexpected by the ancient audience.[5] Graffiti on the walls of homes

[5] (Baird and Taylor 2011; 5)

in Pompeii seem unexpected and unwelcome to the modern viewer, but perhaps they were less so to the ancient one. It seems clear, then, that ancient graffiti cannot be defined by their modern counterparts. In fact, some modern scholarship uses the term *wall inscriptions* interchangeably with graffiti, ostensibly to avoid the bias inherent in the latter.

An alternative way to define the genre is the method of writing: the word *graffito* itself comes from the Italian for "to scratch." Most graffiti in Pompeii are, in fact, scratched into wall plaster using an instrument such as a stylus but in other cases they are drawn using charcoal or, rarely, paint. Alternatively, one could define graffiti by their location on walls, but the method of writing and their location alone do not shed light on the purpose, methods, or features typical of graffiti in Pompeii.

As Baird and Taylor suggest, perhaps the best way to conceptualize ancient graffiti writing is as an event, in which the author, place, and text are equally important.[6] Doing so asks us to think about this writing "as an important relationship between a surface, text, author, and audience."[7] This definition, while no means concrete, forces us to consider the context (historical, cultural, and spatial) of the graffiti, an approach I will use in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

[6] See (Baird, J. and Taylor, C. 2011). "Graffiti are meaningful not just as texts qua texts but as traces of the act of inscribing them. They serve to document not simply the sentiments their words express but the practice of writing those words on the wall" (Milnor, 2009; 293).
[7] (Baird, J. and Taylor, C. 2011, 6)

1.2 Previous Scholarship

The study of ancient graffiti has a long history in Classical scholarship. Graffiti in Pompeii were first found during its discovery in AD 1599 and in subsequent excavations in the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. They have provided interested scholars with a window into the past and a sense of Roman daily life. The popularity of the graffiti and the long history of their study have yielded a wide array of methodologies and approaches. As archaeology has evolved over the centuries so too has the approach to this material. The unique position of graffiti as both a philological and archaeological subject has necessitated the need for a self-conscious approach, but only in recent years has full attention been paid to the unique nature of graffiti and the multiplicity of problems that nature creates.

While graffiti were known from the first excavations of the city, the first publication came in 1856 in Garrucci's *Graffiti di Pompeii*. Early excavators and scholars were excited at the possibilities the evidence held. This excitement translated into the most complete publication of the material in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL) IV*. It is fortunate for modern scholars that early excavators of Pompeii had the foresight to record the graffiti as a large proportion of the graffiti has since disappeared. The first volume of the *CIL IV*, edited by Zangemeister, was published in 1871. *Pars II* and *III* followed in 1898, 1909 and 1952-1970.

The *CIL IV* volumes, which are dedicated to providing the text of the graffito with commentary, demonstrate the priorities of early scholars. The editors are careful to point out the sources of the literary graffiti as well as different hands or variances in writing.

Occasionally, they note the location of the graffito on the wall, the color of the wall plaster, its proximity to nearby features, and measurements. These context notes are more frequent and plentiful in the later volumes of the *CIL IV*. Emphasis is not on analyzing the graffiti but on documenting each graffito. As the wall plaster has often degraded or faded with time, this was an invaluable service and resource for future scholars.

Early studies of Pompeian graffiti were almost completely philological in nature. The graffiti were mined for their usefulness in elucidating canonical texts, for offering a glimpse of previously unknown texts, or for information about everyday Pompeian life.[8] However, some of these early scholars remained skeptical of the usefulness of graffiti for anything other than prosopographical information. August Mau famously said, "It would be an exaggeration to say that they contribute to our knowledge of antiquity much that it is new."[9] George Boyce, in his review of Helen Tanzer's *The Common People of Pompeii*, suggested that, "Their contribution to our knowledge of municipal elections is great. Beyond these fields, we should be careful not to exaggerate the evidence they have to offer. Mau's statement of their limitations for the purposes of social history . . . is still, I think, the safest guide."[10] However, others like Tanzer believed that graffiti could elucidate daily life in the ancient city.

Excitement over the graffiti waned in the early 20th century as interest in Pompeii faded. Attention returned as the field became interested in the lower classes, minorities,

[8] (Mau 1899) (Tanzer 1939)
[9] (Mau 1902; 485)
[10] (Boyce 1940; 286)

and other often-neglected groups including women. Graffiti were seen as a medium that scholars could use to understand everyday people and life in a small Roman town. Attention turned to literary graffiti and poetry (Cugusi 1985; Kruschwitz 2008; Milnor 2009; Milnor 2014), political posters and elections (Mouritsen 1988, Franklin 1980, 1986, 1991, 2001), linguistics (Kruschwitz 2007, 2010), specific messages and writers (Kruschwitz, Campbell, Nichols 2012), erotic messages (Varone 2002), and figural graffiti (Funari 1993; Langner 2001).[11] Furthermore, much recent scholarship, especially the work of Peter Kruschwitz, has focused on the genre of graffiti writing itself.[12] One of the most recent trends in scholarship on this material is examining the graffiti as archaeological material in its spatial context.[13] Many authors are interested in the way graffiti interact with each other, surrounding images, and the viewer (Benefiel 2010a, 2011; Mairs 2011; Kruschwitz, Campbell, and Nicholls, M. 2012) (see section following).

One of the foremost debates in early studies that continues today concerns the authorship of the graffiti. William Harris summarizes the difficulty in determining the authorship of graffiti. He suggests that "almost all graffiti leave the status, sex, and occupation of the writer and of the expected reader or readers indeterminate."[14] Some scholars maintain that a small minority of Pompeians wrote the graffiti and that literacy was extremely limited.[15] Others, especially early scholars, suggested that literacy was

[11] (Baird, J. and Taylor, C. 2011, 2)
[12] (Kruschwitz 2010a) (Kruschwitz 2010b) (Kruschwitz 2014)
[13] (Baird, J. and Taylor, C. 2011, 7)
[14] (Harris 1989; 261)
[15] (Harris 1989)

widespread but lower-class individuals mostly wrote them.[16] Still others propose that literacy was widespread and as a result, a wide variety of people wrote graffiti. Kruschwitz, in particular, supposes that ancient Pompeian graffiti was written by youth, similar to much modern graffiti.[17] This debate in ongoing, but recent work has stressed the *multiplicity* of literacies present in an ancient society. The ability to read does not always correlate with the ability to write, which has an effect on the potential audience of the graffiti.[18]

A unique difficulty that plagues scholars of Pompeian graffiti and of Pompeii in general is the extent to which Pompeii and Pompeians are seen to be "just like us." Since Pompeii survives in such a good state of preservation, it is easy to see oneself in the city and imagine the everyday life of those who lived there. Graffiti writing is a phenomenon well known to most modern audiences, but also problematic as scholars may be tempted to retroject tendencies about modern graffiti to the ancient world. A further difficulty in this subject area is the heterogeneity of the material; it is easy to assume that graffiti from Pompeii are typical and exemplary of all Roman graffiti or even ancient graffiti more broadly. This is not the case, as comparisons with other sites demonstrate.[19] In fact,

[16] (Tanzer 1939): "the graffiti, despite numerous errors in spelling and grammar, give us the impression of a high degree of literacy among the lower classes." (Mau 1902): the cultivated men and women of the ancient city were not accustomed to scratch their names upon stucco . . . We may assume that the writers were as little representative of the best elements of society as are the tourists who scratch or carve their names upon ancient monuments today." (Franklin 1991)
[17] (Kruschwitz 2010a)
[18] (Baird, J. and Taylor, C. 2011, 10)
[19] (Baird and Taylor, 2011; 4)

much recent scholarship has focused on exploring graffiti outside of Pompeii and Campania.[20]

Studies on figural (non-textual) graffiti have seen a rise in recent years.[21] In the past, figural graffiti were often separated or demarcated from textual graffiti. Langner's work on figural graffiti highlights the extent to which they have been treated as a separate entity.[22] Recently, some scholars have argued that this demarcation is false, citing graffiti that combine text and image.[23] Many recent studies on particular houses have treated figural and textual graffiti in the same study.[24] Other work has sought to understand the interaction between text and images.[25]

Recently, graffiti have been used to understand marginalized groups not otherwise well attested in the literary record. Some have tried to recognize children's hands within the graffiti, or those of slaves, sub elite groups, and women.[26] This trend reflects an emerging interest in the field towards examining the less well known and documented sectors of society. Graffiti offer the possibility of providing scholars with a glimpse of life different from the largely elite literary record. The unique nature of the genre of graffiti as both a text and an archaeological material necessitates a nuanced approach to the material.

[20] (Baird 2011) (Zadorojnyi 2011)
[21] (Huntley 2011) (Langner 2001) (Vivolo 1993)
[22] (Langner 2001)
[23] (Chaniotis 2011) (Huntley 2011)
[24] (Benefiel 2010a, 2011)
[25] (Bergmann 2007)
[26] For children see (Huntley 2011), slaves (Webster 2008), sub elite groups (Taylor 2011; Funari 1993) and women (Savunen 1997).

1.3 Graffiti in Context

As I have already mentioned, graffiti are inextricably linked to their location, but studying graffiti in light of their physical context is a relatively recent methodology. Much new work is interested in exploring the complicated relationship between the text of the graffiti and the places where they were written. At the forefront of this movement, Benefiel has explored how graffiti from two houses, Casa di Marcus Castricius (VII.16.17) and Casa dei Quattro Stili (I.8.17), communicate with each other and the spaces in which they were written.[27]

Through these studies, Benefiel has identified a "clustering effect" within the graffiti. Graffiti writing tends to cluster in a small number of core areas of the house and then, presumably, inspires more writing in those areas. These same spaces are some of the most public and easily accessible areas of the house, perhaps accounting for the density of graffiti. Given the general accessibility of these spaces, she suggests that the graffiti were written where people gathered, not by a lone writer far from supervision. Her methodology, studying graffiti in their physical context as well as analyzing those spaces directly, has greatly enhanced our understanding of the phenomenon of graffiti writing in Pompeii.

This clustering effect arises from a process of imitation. An author, for reasons we can usually only hypothesize, chose to write a graffito in a certain area. Other writers inscribed in the same area perhaps as the place had already been established as a

[27] See (Keegan 2011) and also (Kruschwitz, P., Campbell, V., and Nicholls, M. 2012) who place great emphasis on the context of the graffiti in their study of the Menedemerumenus graffiti.

legitimate and permissible place for graffiti writing. Sometimes the graffiti in these clusters are clearly in dialogue; the messages respond to each other or the wall painting on which they were written. These clusters indicate the space was frequented by many authors who, it may be assumed, supposed their messages would be visible and read by others.

1.4 Space Syntax

This dissertation combines Benefiel's methodology, close examination of the graffiti assemblages in context, with a study of the graffiti using archaeological methods of space syntax. Space syntax, broadly defined, is a term for a set of techniques and theories for analyzing spatial configuration.[28] It was conceived by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson in the 1970s-1980s and has been broadly applied to problems within urban planning, geography, and archaeology. At its core, space syntax supposes that architecture affects human activity.[29] Space is configurational; we understand the world around us and the places we inhabitant through an unconscious understanding of how those spaces relate to each other. Human activity, too, has its own geometry; movement is linear (walking to a door) while interaction, to use a term from access analysis, is convex (speaking with a neighbor in the hallway). Space syntax, in essence, accounts for how human activity is molded around the spaces in which it occurs.

[28] (Hillier 2014, 20)
[29] Ibid.

This dissertation uses a specific form of space syntax called access analysis or an analysis of the interior of spaces.[30] This analysis focuses on two specific principles: integration and control. Control measures the local relationship of a space to other spaces it connects to while integration, a global measure, identifies the relationship of a space to all other spaces in a system. Through computer software, we can create measurements based on these principles and then visualize the quantitative results of these measurements. This will be discussed further in Chapters Two and Three.

In essence, space syntax and access analysis allow us to quantify and interpret the configuration of space and measure how that configuration may have affected activity within. I use this methodology for several reasons. First, space syntax produces a representation of the use of space within a building, which I can then compare to the distribution of graffiti to better understand the use of space and the nature of graffiti writing more generally. Second, scholars have often been criticized for using text-based nomenclature to describe specific spaces in Pompeii.[31] Access analysis, based purely on configuration rather than perceived function, removes such bias. Finally, through a comparison of space syntax and the distribution of graffiti within the houses, I am able to discover patterns that might be quite difficult to ascertain without quantification, which allows direct comparison of different houses. I discover, for example, a typical pattern of graffiti distribution as well as typical features of the spaces in which graffiti are found.

[30] This analysis is also termed gamma-analysis. (Hillier and Hanson 1984, 143)
[31] (Allison 1993) (Allison 1997)

Spaces and graffiti that depart from these typical features and locations, then, are highlighted.

This portion of the dissertation uses data derived from a quantification model to understand social behavior. However, I employ this model not to *explain* all the graffiti and their placement within the buildings of the corpus. Rather, the data allows me to *explore* characteristics common to places that feature graffiti and creates a standard from which to measure buildings against each other.

The sample size of this dissertation, though significantly larger than previous studies of Pompeian graffiti in context, is necessarily small. This is due to the multifaceted nature of my approach. After studying each building and its representative assemblages using space syntax, I take a closer look at the content of the graffiti. The two approaches complement each other, but given my decision to combine them, considerations of time and space demanded a smaller sample size than a single approach would have merited. A comprehensive study of all the domestic graffiti using space syntax would no doubt lead to firmer statistical conclusions, but would reveal less about each individual building and the graffiti therein, which constituted a major focus of this dissertation. Further, I believe that through a closer study of the graffiti I have been able to make more definite conclusions related to the idiosyncrasies of graffiti writing in Pompeii and the uses and functions of individual buildings.

The data and statistics generated by this approach are not similar to (or as statistically rigorous as) other more comprehensive applications of space syntax to archaeological material. My sample size is not big enough to allow for tests of statistical

significance, for example. However, it does allow me to identify features that appear to be associated with the placement of graffiti writing, like visibility, and compare buildings with each other.

1.5 The Corpus

Graffiti writing occurs in a good percentage of the houses in Pompeii, though without a comprehensive study of their placement (see Benefiel forthcoming) the exact percentage is unknown. Some houses have a large conglomeration of graffiti, while others, even very large houses, have none at all. At this point, it is difficult to understand what promoted or discouraged graffiti writing in certain houses. Clearly, graffiti tend to cluster; they rarely appear in isolation in a building.[32] Even within a room they tend to cluster in certain areas (see the chapters following), owing to their dialogic nature, as Benefiel has suggested.[33]

To undertake this study, I identified houses from Pompeii with graffiti and then selected buildings with medium-sized graffiti assemblages. When possible, I selected well-preserved buildings that would allow me to locate the graffiti on-site and examine the interaction between the graffiti and their archaeological context. This led me to a corpus of 12 buildings.[34] This sample size, while seemingly small for a quantification study, dwarfs other close readings of graffiti in context, which, up to this point, have only

[32] (Benefiel 2010) (Benefiel 2011)
[33] (Benefiel 2010) (Benefiel 2011)
[34] I.4.5/25; I.6.4; I.9.5; I.9.13; V.1.18; V.2.4; V.2.g; V.4.a; VI.13.19; VI.14.20; VII.11.11; VII.12.35

focused on one house. By examining several buildings together, I will be able to make observations about graffiti writing in Pompeii more generally.

These buildings have assemblages ranging from eight to 69 graffiti. The mean number of graffiti is 21.33; the median is 15. Unlike the heavily inscribed houses (see Benefiel, forthcoming) or the houses with no graffiti, these houses represent the middle range of the spectrum of those houses containing graffiti.[35] They vary in size, quality of decoration, number of rooms, and location in the city. They also vary significantly in the state of preservation.[36] There is some bias in the sample towards houses with some decoration, rather than undecorated houses. Excavators privileged houses with notable concentrations of graffiti, decoration, or finds, so these houses are more likely to have recorded graffiti due to increased preservation.

I deliberately chose a heterogeneous corpus of houses to ensure that some other factor, like number of rooms, would not account for any similarity or dissimilarity in graffiti distribution. The houses cluster in two regions of the city, Regio I and V. This probably has more to do with documentation and preservation than with the original distribution of graffiti. However, Benefiel's forthcoming work on the complete distribution of graffiti within Pompeii may clarify whether there is a predominance of graffiti in any area of the city.

[35] Keegan has found that graffiti tend to cluster in larger houses and houses with 8-10 rooms on the ground floor. He also found clusters of graffiti in houses with 4-5 rooms on the ground floor. (Keegan 2011 , 173)
[36] Beyond environmental factors, there has been significant damage to the several of the houses in my corpus due to bombing during World War II.

In addition, my corpus of houses contains only buildings from Pompeii and not houses from nearby Herculaneum or villas like the Villa A at Oplontis or the Villa San Marco. It has been suggested that the epigraphic habit of funerary epigraphy at Pompeii was particular, peculiar, and not applicable to Roman society at large.[37] Solin has suggested that the graffiti at Herculaneum are very different from those found at Pompeii.[38] So in order to avoid any potential complications emerging from a wide geographic distribution, I decided it was more beneficial to concentrate on one city rather than expand to many areas, although comparative studies of different geographic distributions of graffiti could be fruitful in the future.

I excluded villas from my corpus due to the difference in social practices between villas and urban dwellings. Villa architecture is typically very different from the architecture seen at Pompeii in both the expansive entertaining areas and spaces for agricultural production. Further, the villa's distance from the town itself ensured a different pattern of use from those within the city. I have, however, consulted research on the Villa San Marco and Villa A at Oplontis for comparative purposes. More research will need to be done to extrapolate from the results of this dissertation to wider trends at other sites and in Campania in general.

[37] See (Campbell 2015)
[38] (Solin 1973a)

1.6 The Writings on the Wall

The chapters of this dissertation analyze the graffiti from the twelve buildings in my corpus in an effort to understand the contexts in which the graffiti were written. The dissertation is divided by methodological framework. In Chapters Two and Three, I analyze the buildings and graffiti using archaeological methods of space syntax. In Chapter Four, I look at qualitative aspects of these contexts and the styles in which the graffiti were written, while in Chapters Five and Six, I analyze the texts of the graffiti in order to elucidate important relationships between graffiti and the purposes of their particular messages.

In Chapter Two, I identify the methodology, terms, and theories I use in my analysis of the distribution of graffiti. I define the terms used in space syntax, identify the computer programs I used to complete this type of analysis, and discuss how I applied them to this project. Application of access analysis to Pompeian material has been, in the past, very problematic. Scholars have been criticized for failing to take into consideration cultural factors and often the final claims of the studies seem obvious. I have undertaken this study using multiple models and keeping in mind cultural considerations (including the closing or locking of doors) in order to avoid the problems of the past. With this approach, I hope to draw meaningful conclusions about the nature of graffiti distribution in Pompeii.

In Chapter Three, I discuss the results of this analysis. I examine the outcomes of the space syntax analysis for each of buildings in my corpus. I focus on identifying the measures of control, accessibility, and pedestrian traffic as they relate to the distribution

of graffiti. From these results, I postulate a "typical" distribution of graffiti and identify several buildings in the corpus that do not fit this model.

The fourth chapter analyzes graffiti as artifacts, paying special attention to the particular contexts in which they were found (i.e. their location on the wall) as well as qualitative factors like style and handwriting. I am particularly interested in understanding how factors like lighting and wall color affected visibility, a factor that weighed heavily in the access analysis of the first two chapters.

In Chapter Four, I analyze the literary context of the graffiti. I have already shown how graffiti functioned in space as a way to enable interchange in the house. In this chapter, I show how the substance of the graffiti responded to the spaces in which they were written and the other graffiti written around them. Graffiti cluster in certain areas (notably peristyle columns) and respond to each other like a message board. I show that graffiti were part of an ongoing dialogue between visitors in these domestic spaces, creating dynamic interplay meant to engage the viewer.

In the final chapters, I closely analyze the graffiti of those buildings I have identified as containing an "atypical" distribution of graffiti. I show that the graffiti elucidate the use of the spaces in which they were written. In two buildings, the distributions of graffiti indicate that the buildings were used as inns (*hospitia)* rather than houses. In another example, the placement of the graffiti indicates that they were written when the room was joined to a portico behind it. This chapter demonstrates that graffiti can be used to identify the purpose of built space, which has not always been possible through an analysis of the building or artifacts alone.

Chapter Two

2.1 Introduction

In the following two chapters, I analyze the graffiti assemblages by means of several spatial configuration theories and models. I determine if any of these theories are useful for understanding the distribution of graffiti in the houses of my corpus. Scholars have used spatial modeling systems such as space syntax on Pompeian material previously, but have not frequently compared them to an analysis of the location of graffiti. In addition, I have adapted these theories to take into account spatial conditions (such as doorways), a marked departure from previous scholarship. By adding doorways, I am able to model different spatial conditions (closed and open doorways) that may have been in place throughout the day. This type of differentiated access analysis distinguishes this study from other work done using access analysis on Pompeian material.

One purpose of this study is to understand the nature of graffiti writing as a social phenomenon in Pompeii. Often scholars study or use graffiti singly as evidence for a larger point. In a few studies, graffiti have been studied by house or by type of graffito.[39] Pompeian graffiti have never been studied in entirety or in a sample large enough to enable conclusions about their distribution. A study of 12 buildings, while not large

[39] By house: (Benefiel 2010a) (Benefiel 2011) (Varone 1999) (Baldwin, Moulden and Laurence 2013); by type of graffito: (Franklin 2980) (Franklin 1991) (Funari 1993) (Garraffoni and Funari 2009) (Milnor 2009) (Varone 2002) (Huntley 2011)

enough to substantiate claims about *all* Pompeian graffiti, will enable me to postulate some general trends about graffiti distribution.[40]

Second, as will be discussed in the following section, application of access analysis to Pompeian material has been very problematic in the past. Scholars have been criticized for failing to take into consideration cultural concerns.[41] It is my hope that by creating a differentiated analysis with open and closed doors I will be able to make meaningful conclusions about the nature of graffiti distribution in Pompeii and the reasons for their locations.

This chapter has several parts. First, I introduce relevant scholarship about room use in antiquity. This background is essential because it is in opposition to this vein of scholarship that access analysis has typically been applied. As will become obvious, each theory of room use has advantages and limitations. I also introduce previous applications of access analysis to Pompeian material. No application of access analysis is perfect in all respects, but by blending several of these approaches, I hope to come to a fuller understanding of room use in the domestic spaces of my corpus.

Building on the methodologies of the past, I introduce the specific methods and programs I will use in my study and I explain the terms and vocabulary used in the analysis that follows. I characterize each approach used in this analysis and discuss its importance. I also introduce the computer programs and discuss their advantages and limitations.

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[40] For this reason, in the analysis that follows I will make claims about the distribution of graffiti in the houses in my sample, but not overall. Further studies of the entire corpus of graffiti from Pompeii and beyond may elucidate overall trends (see Benefiel forthcoming).

[41] (George 2002) (Allison 2007)

2.2 Previous scholarship on room use in antiquity

Each of the following authors addresses the question of room use in antiquity. Most of their approaches problematize the use of Vitruvius' Latin terms for domestic rooms as applied broadly to Pompeian materials. Their methodologies range from purely archaeological to literary. Because space syntax reacts against these theories, they form an essential background to an understanding of space syntax and an appreciation of its archaeological potential.

Vitruvius

A discussion of Vitruvius' work on architecture as it pertains to the Roman house is necessary here as it is used by nearly all the scholars who follow. Vitruvius' *De Architectura*, published in the first century BC, describes the rooms in the Roman house, their correct proportions, and their use.

In 6.3, Vitruvius describes the principal rooms of the house and their proportions. He notes the five different types of the *caveaedium*, another term for the space typically called the *atrium*. The *alae* are found to the right and left of the *atrium*. He cites the proportions of the *tablinum*, peristyle, *triclinium, oecus*, and *exedra*, but without any indication of their placement relative to the *caveaedium*. Scholars have noted that the canonical proportions given by Vitruvius differ from the evidence found at Pompeii, [42] much of which, incidentally, was built before Vitruvius' time. It is important to

[42] (Evans 1978)

remember that Pompeian architects did not necessarily have the ability or aspiration to model houses after the ideals set out in Vitruvius.[43]

Section 6.5 provides instructions for the placement of rooms according to the status of the owner. Private rooms are those that no one can enter without an invitation and include the *cubicula, triclinia, balnea* and other rooms of like purpose, while the public rooms including *vestibula, caveaedium,* and *peristylia*, which are available to anyone. Therefore, men of low status do not need magnificent *vestibula, tablina*, or *atria* because they perform their social duties by visiting others, not by being visited *by* others.[44] Besides this private/public distinction, Vitruvius gives no indication of the function of the rooms or typical activities held in each room throughout the day.

August Mau

August Mau, revered archaeologist and pioneer of the study of Pompeii, proposed a traditional view of the Roman house, which many later scholars have problematized.[45] Mau's primary source, as he himself admits, is Vitruvius.[46] In his seminal work, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art,* Mau illustrates what he views as the ideal Pompeian house plan (see **Figure 1**). He imagines that the front part of the house is Roman in origin; this is

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[43] (Hales 2003)
[44] *tunc etiam animadvertendum est, quibus rationibus privatis aedificiis propria loca patribus familiarum et quemadmodum communia cum extraneis aedificari debeant. namque ex his quae propria sunt, in ea non est potestas omnibus intro eundi nisi invitatis, quemadmodum sunt cubicula, triclinia, balneae ceteraque, quae easdem habent usus rationes. communia autem sunt, quibus etiam invocati suo iure de populo possunt venire, id est vestibula, cava aedium, peristylia, quaeque eundem habere possunt usum. igitur îs, qui communi sunt fortuna, non necessaria magnifica vestibula nec tabulina neque atria, quod aliis officia praestant ambiundo neque ab aliis ambiuntur. (De Architectura 6.5.1)*
[45] (Allison 2004) (Leach 1997)
[46] (Mau 1904, 245)

why the name for these rooms, including *atrium, fauces, ala,* and *tablinum,* are in Latin.[47] The back of the house was added under Greek influence and, as such, has Greek room names including *peristylium, triclinium, oecus,* and *exedra*.[48] Mau's understanding of the Roman house is clear: "in describing the Pompeian houses it is more convenient to designate the principal rooms by the ancient names . . . the relative location of which is subject to comparatively little variation."[49] He then discusses the etymology, architecture, and typical features of each of the rooms.

Mau divides the front hallway, connecting the city street to the house, into several spaces. The *vestibulum* was a space between the front door and the street, making it a refuge from the busy thoroughfare. The *fauces*/*prothyron* was the passage between the front door and the *atrium*. The *atrium* was a large, central room that contained a *compluvium,* a basin for rainwater that fell from the *impluvium,* an opening in the roof. Some Pompeian houses have double *atria,* in which case one was reserved for public business and the other for domestic, according to Mau. The *tablinum* was a large room at the back of the *atrium* that sometimes functioned as a summer dining room or as a reception area for guests not admitted to the other rooms.[50] The *paterfamilias* received clients in this space.

[47] (Mau 1904, 247)
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid, 257.

The *alae* were deep rooms on the sides of the *atrium*. Mau wondered how they were used but misinterpreted Vitruvius to suggest they were a place for the *imagines*.[51] The rooms around the *atrium* functioned as dining or sleeping areas. Mau avoids direct use of the word *cubiculum*, which is generally applied to these small rooms around the *atrium*.[52] The peristyle was a garden typically enclosed with a colonnade, at the rear of which was often an *exedra*. Other rooms include the *triclinium* (the dining room) and the *oecus* (an elegant dining room). Mau finishes his description with the kitchen, baths, and storerooms.

Mau's description of each room focuses on the proportions of the room (according to Vitruvius), its location within the house, and examples from the city itself. The source of Mau's information about proportions is clearly from Vitruvius but his ideas about the use of the rooms must come from other sources. It is clear that Mau understood the function of the rooms through the study of other ancient authors. Many later scholars have questioned the suitability of the ideal house plan and its application to Pompeian materials as well as the application of Vitruvian room names to Pompeian spaces without a close reading of the actual archaeological material.

Mau's Vitruvian-derived approach is too rigid and fails to take into account the differentiation found in many Pompeian houses, but his desire to examine to each type of

[51] (Mau 1904, 247). The passage *imagines item alte cum suis ornamentis ad latitudinem alarum sint constitutae* (6.3.6) "let the *imagines* with their ornaments be set up equal in height to the width of the *alae*, says nothing of the use of the *alae* itself but rather of the positioning of the *imagines* relative to the *alae*. See also (Cova 2015).

[52] *"An jeder Seite des Atriums liegen zwei oder drei kleine Schlafzimmer. Wo die Grundfläche zu schmal ist, fehlen sie, wie auch die Alae, auf einer oder auch auf beiden Seiten"* (1908; 266)

room on a micro-level and to understand the basic uses of the room is useful, especially given the early date of his work. Further, Mau incorporates archaeological finds in his discussion of the rooms, which is a useful approach continued today.[53]

Eleanor Leach

Eleanor Leach elegantly summarizes the problem of using room names derived from Vitruvius to describe Pompeian houses. She suggests there is a significant problem in using an Augustan-era architectural treatise to understand Pompeian material, which is neither entirely Roman nor entirely Augustan in date.[54] Instead, Leach turns to other literary sources to find examples of the use of room names by ancient authors. This indirect evidence, she suggests, may inform us more about the use of domestic space than architectural treatises like *De Architectura*.[55]

Leach finds that some room names from Vitruvius including *fauces, tablinum,* and *alae* are not prevalent in other literature.[56] That is not to say that these spaces did not exist in other periods, but they were better known by other names. In her study, Leach pays particular attention to the *atrium* and suggests that although the word *atrium* was used for the space, the axis through the *atrium* to the back of the house may not have

[53] "Children . . . sat on low stools at a table of their own on the open side of the large table. In an open-air triclinium in the ninth region (Ix.v.11.) the children's seat is preserved." (Mau 1904, 264)
[54] (Leach 1997, 50)
[55] Ibid, 51.
[56] Ibid, 53

been as important in antiquity as modern scholars have presumed. Visitors or features like screens and doors may have obstructed the view to the back of the house.[57]

Leach notes that Roman writers tend to use *porticus* or *ambulatio* rather than *peristylium*.[58] While Vitruvius says that the peristyle, like the *atrium,* is a place open to visitors without invitation,[59] Leach suggests that in actuality the peristyle was a transitional space somewhere between public and invitational.[60] In the next chapter, however, I will question the "invitational" nature of the peristyle.

Rooms around the peristyle have proved difficult for scholars to identify. These spaces are numerous and often very similar in shape, size, and decoration. Leach finds that there is evidence in the literary record that some rooms had variable purposes depending on the furnishings placed within them. A single room could be used for sleeping, dining, study, or meeting, through the use of portable furniture. However, according to Leach, the *oecus* with columns and architrave consistently seems to be a room intended for dining.[61] The *exedra* was a large interior room off the *atrium* or the peristyle.[62] *Camera* is used frequently in ancient literature (Sallust *Cat. 55.4,* Cicero *Att* 3.1, and Vitruvius 5.11) and has the specific connotation of a room with a ceiling vault.[63] *Conclavis* seems to refer to any closed-off space that could be locked with a key, while c*ubiculum* has a wide variety of uses including sleeping, reading, and meeting.[64]

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[57] (Leach 1997, 54)
[58] Ibid., 59
[59] Vitruvius, *De Architectura,* VI.5
[60] (Leach 1997, 59) Also (Ellis 2010, 123)
[61] Ibid, 61
[62] Ibid, 62
[63] Ibid. Vitruvius 7.3.1: *hique asseres, cum ad formam circinationis fuerint distributi*
[64] (Leach 1997, 70)

Leach's study proves the inaccuracy of applying Vitruvian room names to Pompeian material. Literary sources contain a plethora of room names and prove the variable nature of room uses in antiquity. In essence, her study justifies the need for access analysis. Vitruvian names, and thereby the room use implied by them, are unhelpful for understanding the use of many spaces in Pompeian houses. We must therefore turn to other methods such as space syntax to understand the function of the rooms.

Wallace-Hadrill

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has written extensively on public and private areas within the Roman house.[65] He suggests that architecture and decoration are the primary demarcators of space within the house. He notes that markers of age and gender are virtually undetectable in the Roman house; instead, the main delineation is between social ranks.[66] He models these demarcations in his "axes of differentiation": public-private and grand-humble (see **Figure 2**).[67] The rooms of the house fall on the spectrum of these indices. This system of differentiation is directly modeled on Roman social relations. The house was intended to foster the public/grand persona of the *paterfamilias* as well as provide context for private activities. Various visitors to the house would only visit the rooms suitable to their standing: the *clientes* would be allowed in a grand-public

[65] (Wallace-Hadrill 1988)
[66] Ibid, 9.
[67] Ibid, 11.

space like the *atrium* while a private-humble space, like a storeroom, was reserved for family and slaves.

Wallace-Hadrill identifies several architectural features that delineated public and private spaces. Private spaces borrowed architectural features like columns, pediments, curved ceilings, and marbles from the vocabulary of public architecture and used them to mark out "grand spaces."[68] These features associate the room in a domestic space with the public sphere. Wallace-Hadrill places great importance on depth, color, and perspective.[69] Decoration, then, offered a twofold assistance to visitors of the house: it enabled them to compare a particular house to houses they had seen before and thus assess the social standing of the owner.[70] In addition, specific decorative cues, in their allusion to public architecture, enabled them to navigate the area appropriate to their status within the home.[71]

One drawback to Wallace-Hadrill's theory is that his model leaves little room for repurposing of rooms throughout the day or season. As others have suggested, the rooms in a Pompeian house were not reserved for a singular purpose, and the various activities carried out in a given room do not necessarily share a uniform place along the scales of public-private or grand-humble.[72] The *atrium* could serve as the location for the *salutatio* during the morning and as a place for weaving later in the afternoon.[73]

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[68] (Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 20)
[69] Ibid, 25.
[70] Ibid, 36.
[71] Ibid.
[72] (Allison 2004) (Allison 2007) (Clarke 1991) (Riggsby 1997)
[73] In my own work, I have shown the multiple uses for the *atrium* and the significance of the *atrium* in the mental models of the Romans as evidenced by their literature (DiBiasie 2010).

Another disadvantage to Wallace-Hadrill's theory is that archaeological evidence is not always available to allow the scholar to make such distinctions about room use. Materials like marble and wall plaster, as well as furnishings of perishable materials, are now often missing from the Pompeian record. This makes it difficult to test the functional values that Wallace-Hadrill applies to space on the basis of architecture and decoration.

Penelope Allison

Penelope Allison's work focuses on the analysis of the artifact assemblages found in individual rooms. Allison avoids Vitruvian nomenclature in order to minimize biases about general room characterizations.[74] She argues that assigning room labels assumes a relationship between Pompeian houses and the world of the authors of the literary sources.[75] Vitruvian room terms do not allow for a change of function in the room use.[76] Instead, the only useful way to employ the literary record is by combining it with a full assessment of the decorative, architectural, and archaeological remains.[77]

In her study of Pompeian room assemblages, Allison assigns names based on a room's relationship to either the "front hall" or "garden complex." She notes that the function of some rooms, like those around the "front hall" (*atrium*), changed quickly.

[74] (Allison 2004, 11)
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid, 163.

These rooms were adapted for various uses, while the function of other rooms, like the "front hall" (*atrium*), probably did not.[78]

Allison's approach is quite useful, as it has demonstrated the versatility of room use in many of the rooms of ancient Pompeii.[79] However, while her hesitancy to avoid Vitruvian room names is certainly welcome, her alternative makes it difficult to talk about the rooms. Further, while the wholesale adoption of Vitruvius is probably unwise, completely disregarding the literary record dismisses an important source of information. It is true that the purpose of some rooms, like many of the rooms around the *atrium* that are often termed '*cubicula*,' is uncertain. However, other rooms, like the *atrium*, have a well-accepted use and defined typology so there is no need to follow Allison in referring to it as the "front hall." In addition, Allison's typology can be confusing due to the inaccuracy of English room names. In American English, "hall" is typically used to denote a corridor, which is quite different from the "front hall"/*atrium* that Allison is describing.

Further, her room names isolate the rooms in her sample, as they do not take into account the connection to neighboring rooms. One of the benefits of using Vitruvian-derived names and Mau's model of the ideal house is the mental model it calls to mind, which helps the reader locate the room within a general house plan and consider all the connotations of its position. The room names have been the *lingua franca* in studies of

[78] (Allison 2004, 63)
[79] A fuller comparison of her research and the graffiti distribution will be discussed in Chapter Six

the Roman house for a long time, so they easily situate the reader in respect to the spaces being discussed.

A further disadvantage of her method is the problematic use of room assemblages in general. Not every activity that took place in the Roman house would leave a representative room assemblage. As Allison herself admits, there is no way to be confident that activities perfectly correlate to the room assemblages left in Pompeii. It is only possible to speculate on the activities that left noticeable, inorganic artifacts. Furthermore, Allison argues that ongoing seismic activity caused significant disturbance at Pompeii as demonstrated by the room assemblages indicating visible changes in room functions. This makes using room assemblages to understand room use very problematic.

Andrew Riggsby

Using the letters of Pliny, Andrew Riggsby has demonstrated the importance of time in conceptions of space-use in Roman domestic space. [80] In his analysis, he identifies passages in which Pliny describes the same room using two different size descriptions (small dining area or a big *cubiculum*), showing that there were different expectations for the same size room.[81] This proves the existence of size-typology in Pliny's letters. If Pliny is willing to regard a room in his villa as a "big" *cubiculum*, then his mental typology of *cubiculum* size is set from his collective experiences.

[80] (Riggsby 1997)
[81] Letters 2.17 (Description of Laurentine villa) and 5.6 (description of Tuscan villa)

This complicates the question of room use in antiquity even further. If the same room could serve as a *cubiculum* or a *triclinium*, what determined its use? Access analysis bypasses these issues. It determines features of space (like accessibility and control) that correspond to patterns of activity of a space without seeking to determine its specific function. Thus, using access analysis avoids many of the pitfalls in room naming conventions outlined above, although not without its own share of difficulties.

2.3 Previous Scholarship on Access Analysis

In this section, I discuss previous applications of spatial theories and techniques as a way to clarify my own application of spatial configuration theories to graffiti distributions. Generally, these theories were developed for use outside of the Pompeian (or even archaeological) realm and, as such, have both advantages and limitations in application to Pompeian material. There is ample bibliography on space syntax and its application to archaeological material. I will focus this section on previous applications of space syntax and other spatial theories to Pompeii.[82]

Hillier and Hanson

Space syntax is a collective term for spatial configuration theories and techniques originally developed by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson in the 1970s.[83] Underlying

[82] I have also included in this section, for obvious reasons, Hillier and Hanson, the developers of space syntax.
[83] (Hillier and Hanson 1984) (Stöger 2011, 43)

much of the theory that follows is the assumption that architectural decisions concerning organization and form have social consequences.[84] The primary purpose of this theory is to build a conceptual model in which to investigate the relationship between space and society.[85] Further, Hillier and Hanson aim to establish a method to analyze different architectural arrangements.[86] They suggest that architecture determines the degree to which people become aware of other people in the same space.[87] This brings much to bear on the question of household members, guests, and strangers and the degree to which those consistent groups would interact, which will be a factor in my analysis.

Much of Hillier and Hanson's early work was devoted to the axial analysis of settlements, not individual houses. Later, they introduced what they call gamma-analysis, the analysis of the interior spaces.[88] They point out that interior spaces are part of a "trans-spatial" system, one in which each interior space is independent from others but has global affiliations.[89] At the same time, a boundary separates the interior space from the global system around it.[90] Gamma analysis seeks to capture both these principles.[91] Essentially, buildings, through variation, encode social information.[92]

Some terms used in space syntax are important to understand now as they form the basis of the analysis in the following sections. In space syntax, movement is assumed

[84] (Hillier and Hanson 1984, IX)
[85] Ibid, X.
[86] Ibid, XI.
[87] Ibid, 24.
[88] Ibid, 143.
[89] Ibid, 144.
[90] Ibid.
[91] (Hillier and Hanson 1984, 144)
[92] Ibid, 154.

to be linear.[93] Interactions between people occur in a convex space (a polygon). From any point within the system, the moving person has a visual field, called an isovist.[94] From these three forms of interaction (movement, interaction, visual field) arise three different forms of analysis: axial, convex, and isovist. I will address these forms of analysis in the methodology and results section.

Mark Grahame

Mark Grahame's influential work first applied Hillier and Hanson's theory to a study of the House of the Faun in Pompeii. Using access analysis, Grahame maps each room of the house according to its connections with other rooms.[95] He identifies several "nodes," which he sees as the optimal spaces for "occasions" or formal assemblages of people. Areas of the house that do not connect to many spaces are termed places for "gatherings" or casual encounters.[96] Areas that connect to many areas are nodes, and are thus termed places for "occasions" or organized events. Every space, depending on presence availability, is suitable either for gatherings or occasions.

Grahame sees the arrangement and sequence of space, rather than decoration, as a powerful and controlling feature that enables or restricts visitors.[97] He proposes that decoration is only able to demarcate areas of the house that architecture has already

[93] (Stöger 2011, 43)
[94] Ibid.
[95] (Grahame 1997)
[96] (Grahame 1997, 155)
[97] Ibid., 141.

separated.[98] Furthermore, the public or private nature of a room is defined not by its architecture or decoration but by how many rooms it connects to or how close it is to an entrance. Grahame suggests that public rooms are those that enable free movement of guests and inhabitants.[99] These rooms encourage socialization and encounters among people in them. Architectural restriction inhibits these encounters. Thus, for Grahame, rooms are most likely to be "public" if they encourage social contact by means of their "openness" and ability to be entered by the greatest number of people.

Grahame followed this article with a larger treatment of a sample of 144 houses from Regio VI of Pompeii.[100] In this work, he compares traditional views of the Roman house (largely based on texts) to his study of the Roman house through access analysis. Grahame's most important conclusion is that there was no "typical" Roman house plan as many have assumed.

Grahame's approach has been criticized for its inability to characterize larger relationships of interaction within the home.[101] He only seeks to understand the syntagmatic relationship -- that is, how one room relates to other rooms it connects to, and as a result loses sight of the meaning of each individual room. Furthermore, it does not allow for the benefit of archaeological finds or obvious fixed functions (such as those of the latrine or kitchen) in the evaluation of a space's social value.[102] George has

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[98] (Grahame 1997, 141)
[99] Ibid.
[100] (Grahame 2000)
[101] (Taylor 2000)
[102] Taylor points out that in an imaginary Roman house the archaeological discovery of a latrine in one room and broken tools in another significantly alters our understanding of who used a room and how often. (Taylor 2000; 441)

criticized Grahame's approach for its exclusion of cultural context.[103] Further, Grahame's analytical, systematic approach is compromised when he changes his model to fit the results.[104]

One benefit of Grahame's study is his careful discussion of the features of access analysis.[105] He explains each value and its corresponding term (such as control value, relative asymmetry, etc.) and gives examples to show how it is calculated. This is a very helpful (and much needed) guidebook for scholars not acquainted with access analysis.

Ray Laurence

Laurence has made two valuable contributions to the field of space syntax. First, he argues that scholars must analyze textual and archaeological material together in order to create a meaningful understanding of Pompeian space.[106] He uses space syntax to investigate the interaction between public and private space.[107] In his analysis of the relationship of doorways to streets, he finds that "the number of doorways opening into a street directly reflects the level of social activity and interaction that occurred on that street" (see **Figure 3**).[108] So, main thoroughfares like the Via dell'Abbondanza had the greatest quantity of social interaction. In addition, Laurence suggests that the frequency

[103] (George 2002)
[104] Space 31, the middle peristyle, is of moderately low presence availability, which Grahame suggests are areas for gatherings. However, he then says "we might expect that gatherings were not particularly common in space (31)." (Grahame 1997, 156) This differentiated application of his model to the data calls into question the applicability and suitability of the model.
[105] (Grahame 2000, 29-36) (Grahame 1997)
[106] (Laurence 2007, 8)
[107] Ibid, 116.
[108] (Laurence 2007, 103)

of *programmata* (electoral notices) indicates the activity level of the street (see **Figure 4**).[109]

He also analyzes the interior of buildings in Regio VI and VII of Pompeii. Using the House of the Vettii as an example of Hillier and Hanson's gamma analysis (see **Figure 5**), he finds that a low number of doors on the street correlates with buildings segregated from the street (i.e. with a high mean depth and relative asymmetry) while a high number of doors on the streets correlates with buildings well integrated with the street. Ultimately, he concludes that, at least with respect to the relationship between the street and adjoining interiors, the number of doorways in the street corresponds with the amount of social activity in the area.[110]

Criticism of Laurence's analysis is similar to that of many studies of access analysis: his conclusions restate the obvious.[111] Michele George, in her review of the first edition, states that his spatial theory is not useful and contributes nothing new to our understanding of Pompeii.[112] Such criticism of access analysis studies is common. Hannah Ströger neatly summarizes why this criticism is misguided. Scholars misunderstand the purpose of access analysis as an analytical tool. Often, its results seem obvious. However, even obvious spatial relationships benefit from quantification and systematic presentation.[113] Furthermore, space syntax allows the scholar to deduce probable areas of social activity from the spatial patterns.[114] Lastly, space syntax allows

[109] (Laurence 2007, 110)
[110] Ibid., 116
[111] (George 1995)
[112] Ibid.
[113] (Stöger 2011, 31)
[114] Ibid.

comparison within the dataset. Pompeian houses vary widely in size and arrangement. Through space syntax, one can easily compare houses of different size, plan, or decoration. By establishing a "normal" pattern of space within the home, it is possible to identify rooms or homes that deviate from it.

Laurence, Baldwin and Moulden have made another significant contribution to this field in his recent co-authored article, which merges access analysis and graffiti in the Villa San Marco.[115] In this study, the authors combine convex and visual graph analysis through the use of the computer program Depthmap.[116] They also investigate one subset of graffiti, written by children, which the authors determine as those written below 110cm from the floor.[117] This study reaches several important conclusions. They find a strong correlation between rooms with children's graffiti (those ≤ 110 cm.) and visual controllability, visual mean depth, and visual relativized entropy.[118] The strongest correlation, however, is between rooms with textual graffiti and visual control, indicating that rooms that "look onto" the most rooms are the most likely areas for textual graffiti.[119]

These results, they conclude, indicate that textual graffiti targeted spaces that were visually dominant and connected within the villa. Further, they suggest that three rooms of the villa were used by children due to the predominance of children's graffiti in

[115] (Baldwin, E., Moulden, H., and Laurence, R. 2013, 153)
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid, 157. This calculation would not be possible with my sample as very few of the graffiti survive and there are few measurements in the CIL for those that do not.
[118] Ibid, 162. These measurements will be further discussed in the methodology section. Visual controllability is a measurement that describes which locations are most easily visually dominated by other spaces. Visual mean depth is a calculation of the shortest visual path from a node to every other node, summed and then divided by the total number nodes minus one. Visual relativized entropy is a global measurement of how ordered a system is from a particular location.
[119] As will be shown in the results section, this result is also corroborated by my data.

those rooms. They find that textual graffiti occur predominately in the peristyle, numerical in the service areas, and pictorial in the baths.[120] The areas of the house associated with work or waiting have the highest concentration of graffiti.[121]

Overall, this work is an important contribution to the application of space syntax to graffiti. The authors combine different types of analysis (visual and convex graph analyses). Further, they include the demarcation of height, in order to understand the distribution of graffiti.

This study could have been enhanced with more discussion of the findings. The connection between visual connectivity and control was not explored in depth. There was no discussion of the connection between several of the variables in their analysis and the amount of graffiti. It must also be stated that these results are drawn from a limited sample, in a villa whose function and inhabitants would probably have been far different from the typical Pompeian house.

Michael Anderson

Michael Anderson's work has focused on the application of GIS (Geographical Information Systems) techniques to Pompeian houses. Anderson analyzes evidence for disruption after the earthquake of AD 62 in 39 houses through the use of GIS viewsheds, which he compares to findspots of certain materials that might have been visually "unsightly," such as piles of building materials. GIS viewshed analysis, essentially, is an

[120] As will be shown in the results section, these results do not correlate with my data.
[121] These results are also shown in my data.

analysis of the visible area of a space from a particular location. However, GIS was created in order to analyze large areas like landscapes, not small systems like houses; Anderson adapted the system by defining the walls of the house plan as mountains and the white space (empty areas where were doors or openings) as valleys.[122] The software then calculated lines of sight radiating from a series of viewpoints organized in a grid within the model.[123] Walls blocked lines of sight, but openings and doorways permitted them.[124] He overlaid a one-meter grid on the house plan and then calculated and summed a viewshed (360° view from each point) from each grid space.[125] He displays this data visually in a raster map in grayscale: white areas are areas of high visibility; dark gray areas are those of low visibility.[126]

Anderson finds that, for the most part, building materials were stored in hidden locations within the houses of his samples.[127] However, the materials also tended to be located in areas of high accessibility. He concludes that there was a desire to create the impression of normalcy in Pompeian houses (especially from the outside) after the earthquake of AD 62 amid continued habitation.[128] However, he also finds evidence of

[122] (Anderson 2011, 68) This methodology is very similar to the Visual Graph Analysis in Depthmap. However, the grid used in Depthmap is on a much smaller scale, while Anderson employed a one-meter grid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid, 69.
[126] Ibid.
[127] (Anderson 2011, 70)
[128] (Anderson 2011, 70) The careful placement of building materials in areas that would not hamper daily living indicates that daily life in the house and repairs occurred in tandem. (67)

owners abandoning some extremely damaged buildings and filling them with building supplies.[129]

In another article, Anderson analyzed 65 houses from Pompeii using access analysis.[130] He finds two principal problems with access analysis. First, it is up to the researcher to identify nodes (rooms that provide and control access to other room) within the house.[131] Second, the real relative asymmetry (RRA) measurement (a measurement describing accessibility within the building) within access analysis does not factor the ways in which rooms connect, only whether there is a through route.[132] Anderson's method, called "extended real relative asymmetry," involves a grid placed over the house plan. The computer program assigns a node to each square in the grid, which is connected to all other nodes with which it shares a side. Then, the program calculates asymmetry like typical RRA. Anderson also calculated grid viewsheds (visibility map) in the method described earlier.[133]

Anderson describes the results of one house in his study, the House of Trebius Valens (III.2.1). He finds that the *atrium*, peristyle, and a corridor were the most central locations of the house.[134] The *triclinium* and a large room (d) off the *atrium* were the least central. He shows that, contrary to Wallace-Hadrill's assumption that rooms in the

[129] (Anderson 2011, 78)
[130] (Anderson 2004a)
[131] (Anderson 2004b, 184) Nodes are the rooms that provide and control access to other rooms. Approaches differ on choosing nodes within a system. Grahame, for example, identifies rooms with a control value greater than 2 as a node. I follow his approach.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid.
[134] (Anderson 2004b, 184)

back of the house would be the most private, the *triclinium* and garden area had the most visual activity.[135] The rooms around the *atrium*, typically believed to be available to guests, were visually remote. The kitchen was both visually remote and well integrated, a good combination for an area that needed to be accessible but hidden from general view. The baths, on the other hand, were both segregated from the rest of the house and visibly hidden, a necessity for privacy.

Anderson's alteration of access analysis has produced interesting results. His interpretation of social phenomena (privacy, visibility) gives the access analysis data more meaning. I have used Anderson's methodology and his emphasis on privacy/visibility in this dissertation, though I have not used GIS for my analyses. Through Depthmap's visibility function, I have been able to nearly replicate Anderson's grid viewsheds. However, this requires that I remove any "obstacles" that would not impede views but may appear as a wall to the computer program, like parapet walls and *impluvia*. With these obstacles removed, it is possible to replicate the grid viewshed.

2.4 Methodology

I have chosen to use several different methodologies in this study. In doing so, I can compare the results of each as well as their advantages and disadvantages. Typically, scholars have chosen one methodology and completed analysis using that method alone. However, as will become obvious, every methodology has serious limitations. By using

[135] (Anderson 2004b, 184)

several methods, I suggest, we may get closer to understanding the nature of the distribution of Pompeian graffiti and the reasons for such a distribution.

Convex Map Analysis

Convex map analysis forms the core of all access analysis studies. At its most basic, it requires the creation of convex spaces, shapes in which points are visible to other points.[136] In Pompeian terms, all the rooms in my sample are convex spaces, which are then linked to all the other spaces to which they join. I calculate certain measurements to understand the connections between the room and the system overall. Then, I analyze these connections to understand the social implications of the results.[137]

JASS

My first method for carrying out convex map analysis applied JASS (Justified Analysis of Spatial Systems) software, a freely available JAVA-based software created by KHT Stockholm.[138] It takes bitmap drawings and analyzes the convex spaces to draw a network of nodes. JASS completes a mathematic analysis of this network node graph and produces a schematic drawing of the nodes in a justified graph (J-Graph) (see **Figure 6**).

[136] (Stöger 2011, 44)
[137] Ibid.
[138] JASS can be obtained free of charge from http://www.nada.kth.se/projects/proj03/SUX/tmpRoot/release/

A justified graph is a map in which one node (room) is set as the base (root node) and all rooms at a depth of 1 are arranged horizontally at the first level, rooms at depth level 2 are arranged at the second level, and so on.[139] In JASS, the user must import a drawing into the program to analyze and create dot-line connections from each room to the rooms to which it is connected. The user can then create a J-graph from any node within the system. The J-graph will begin with the selected node and branch out to connected nodes from there. The root node will be at level 0, those spaces one step away from the root node will be on level 1, and so on. This graph does not demarcate spaces according to size, decoration, or use. The graph is purely a topological representation of the building.

These J-graphs are not ultimately very useful for the archaeologist. Perhaps their only advantage is they can help the user to visualize the spatial layout of the house and identify "nodes": areas highly connected to other areas. The ultimate usefulness in the JASS software is its ability to make the mathematical calculations based on these connections.

JASS is capable of calculating several measurements based on this J-Graph. Connectivity measures the number of neighbors connected to a space. It is, therefore, a local measure.[140] Thus, if an *atrium* is connected to six other rooms, the connectivity value would be 6. Connectivity should always be a whole number greater than 0. The

[139] (Hillier and Hanson 1984, 106)
[140] (Klarqvist 1993)

connectivity values in my data set range from 1 to 12. Connectivity is very basic and just shows how connected a room is to others.

Control value (CV) is also a local measure. It measures the degree to which a space controls its neighbors by also taking into account how many connections each of the neighbors has.[141] The calculation can be found in Appendix A. Control values will normally be a positive integer with decimal. A CV greater than 1 indicates that a space is "controlling"; a CV closer to 0 indicates that a space is "controlled."[142] High control values can be used to identify areas of high movement in a building.[143] In my sample, the CV ranges from .08-9.8.

Depth refers to the number of syntactic steps the space is from the root node. Thus, *atria* tend to have low depths since they are typically near to the front doors, while peristyles typically have high depths. The depth range in my data set is from 0 (root nodes) to 8. The calculation for mean depth (MD) can be found in Appendix A. The mean depth in my data ranges from 1.4 to 6.4. Spaces with a mean depth closer to 0 are close to the *fauces* and require crossing few spaces while spaces with high mean depth require crossing many thresholds from the entrance to reach them.

Mean depth is an essential calculation as it is used to measure integration within the building. Integration calculates the accessibility of a room within a building and is, therefore, a global measure, meaning it reflects a measurement of the space relative to the overall system.[144] Accessibility refers to the number of spaces that one must cross in

[141] (Klarqvist 1993)
[142] (Stöger 2011, 62)
[143] Ibid.
[144] (Stöger 2011, 63)

order to reach a space; a short sequence of intervals means space is more accessible. This measurement also denotes the symmetry or asymmetry of a space, as spaces can only be "deep" relative to other spaces when one must pass through other spaces to reach them, making the configuration asymmetrical.[145] Thus, this measurement is termed Relative Asymmetry (RA).[146] However, typically scholars use a normalized RA value called Real Relative Asymmetry (RRA). Normalized RA is essential because as building size becomes larger, the number of thresholds needed to cross becomes larger as well. Normalized RA allows comparison of integration across houses (or other buildings) of different sizes.

Higher RRA values mean the room is more inaccessible, while low RRA values indicate a room is highly integrated to the rest of the building and therefore easily accessible. The RRA values in my data range from .21 (low) to 3.8 (high). Finally, the Total RRA (TRRA) refers to the combined RRA measurements of a system. The Mean RRA (MRRA) is the mean of the total. Both of these measurements are useful in comparing houses to each other.

The final measurement, potential presence availability, compares the interaction between the Control Value and the RRA (Integration) values. It describes the likelihood that a social encounter will occur in the space.[147] This is not a measure of how many people are likely to be in the space, but rather the likelihood that people will interact there.[148] Control values refer to the local presence availability; RRA values refer to the

[145] (Hillier and Hanson 1984, 108)
[146] (Stöger 2011, 63)
[147] (Grahame 1997, 150)
[148] Ibid.

global presence availability. Grahame suggests that interactions may be divided into two different groups: occasions and gatherings. Occasions are organized events, like the *salutatio*.[149] By contrast, gatherings are transitory and chance encounters, like a greeting in a hallway.[150]

This measurement is subjective, as each scholar can determine what values determine "high" versus "low" presence availability. Opinions vary and it is often hard to gauge from previous literature how scholars decide to quantify this subjective measurement.[151] I have used Grahame's potential presence availability model in this dissertation, which he characterizes in the following chart:

Potential Presence Availability (Grahame, 2000)

	High accessibility	Low accessibility
High control	High	Moderately high
Low control	Moderately low	Low

Rather than break presence availability into categories of interaction, gatherings or occasion, I prefer simply to use the presence availability as an indication of the likelihood for social interaction in the space. Further, while I include this measurement in my analysis, I do not consider it as trustworthy as the other measurements, as it is qualitative. I find the other values (as outlined above) to be more useful for analysis.

[149] (Grahame 1997, 155)
[150] Ibid.
[151] (Stöger 2011)

Further, while scholars frequently use the term "presence availability," it is seldom defined or described. This makes it difficult to compare presence availability in my study with its use in other projects.

Visual Graph Analysis

Visual Graph Analysis differs from access analysis by taking into account visual measures through isovists or viewsheds. An isovist or viewshed is a representation of the environment directly visible to an observer.[152] Visual Graph Analysis (VGA) differs from traditional viewsheds in GIS because instead of creating observed areas from one observer point, a layer of points is distributed across the area and observations are taken from each of the intersections. In essence, GIS takes viewsheds only from specific points (e.g. what one can see while standing in the *fauces*). VGA distributes a grid of points (for example at every 1 meter) and the view from each of these points is taken; these views are averaged to create a model of what areas would be visible to someone moving around the space.

Visual Graph Analysis combines isovist fields with space syntax. In VGA, a grid of points is superimposed on an environment (see **Figure 7**). Every point (the center of each grid square) connects to every other point it can "see," i.e. that is not blocked by an obstacle.[153] From these points, several measurements are calculated, which I will describe below.

[152] (Stöger 2011, 64)
[153] (Turner 2004, 1)

Correlation with Graffiti

In order to understand what factors are important in predicting the location of graffiti writing I will compare the aforementioned analyses with the location of graffiti. I can then determine which factors make an area more likely to contain graffiti writing. To make these comparisons, the number of graffiti was transformed into a logarithmic scale, following Baldwin et al. 2013, in order to normalize the data. I then found the correlation co-efficient value. For this dissertation, I have used the following measurements of statistical significance of correlation: r = >.70 (very strong), .40-.70 (strong), .30-.39 (moderate), .20-.29 (weak), .01-.19 (no relationship). However, as discussed in the introduction, I use this data to explore features of locations of graffiti writing, rather than explain them. The data set is too small to allow for statistical robustness. Nevertheless, this methodology allows me to examine the connection between the variables and compare houses to each other.

Methods

Depthmap

I completed analysis of the corpus of houses using Visual Graph Analysis (VGA) through a software program called Depthmap. Depthmap was created at University College London and is freely available (with registration).[154] It requires a raster plan of each house without extraneous details that the program may misinterpret as walls. In addition, the user must modify the plans and remove any architectural features (like

[154] Depthmap can be downloaded here http://www.spacesyntax.net/software/.

impluvia) that a visitor to the house could see over. Otherwise, Depthmap will interpret these features as walls that cannot be seen through. To do this, I started with a Shapefile of Pompeii, the file format used in GIS programs.[155] I saved this shapefile as a Drawing Interchange File (.dxf) that could be used by the design program AutoCAD. I then selected my houses from the larger plan and copied them into smaller maps.

I modified these maps in several ways. First, I created a "plain" map, which contained only the exterior and interior walls. The *impluvium* and parapet walls were removed, as these features do not impede sight, only movement. Secondly, I created a similar plan, but with only the front door in place. Third, I created a map with every known door in place. The only doors included in this analysis were extrapolated from door sockets that I observed in Pompeii in the summer of 2013, when I carefully examined the thresholds of houses in my corpus.

Of course, other movement inhibitors like curtains or *ianitores* existed in the Roman house. Consider this passage from Fronto:

> For each of us private men, if the door keeper did not guard the doors and was not wholly alert, excluding from entrance those not invited, but allowing the inhabitants to walk outside freely whenever they want, then he would not be guarding the house properly.[156]

Unfortunately, barriers like curtains and doorkeepers leave nothing in the material record. Without evidence as such, it may be impossible to perfectly model movement within the Roman house. However, differentiated analysis with known doors at least allows us to

[155] Dr. Eric Poehler and the Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project graciously provided me with the shapefiles used in this dissertation. The shapefiles were received on 8/28/2012
[156] (Hales 2003, 36)

understand what impact doors may have had on movement patterns around and visibility of graffiti within domestic space.

I then imported these plans into Depthmap and completed both Visual Graph Analysis and Convex Map Analysis. In the next section, I will discuss the measurements calculated by each of these analyses. Measurements that are preceded with "visual" refer to analyses carried out by Visual Graph Analysis as opposed to Convex Graph Analysis.

Local Measures: Connectivity

The first measurement calculated in Depthmap is connectivity. Connectivity is a basic measurement of how many other nodes each node can *see*. Connected areas will show up as red areas on the raster graph, while unconnected areas will show up as blue. In table view, connected areas will have higher integer values. The basic measurement indicates how many areas were visible from a particular location within the house.

Global Measures

Global measures are all based on creating the shortest paths from one point to all others in the system.[157] The global measures used in this dissertation include mean depth/step depth and integration.[158] Global measures are called "global" since they refer to the entire system, rather than the connection of one room to those surrounding it.

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[157] (Turner 2004, 16)

[158] For global measures, the user must set a radius. I used the standard radius "n." If I were to set the radius to an integer (for example 1) then the program would calculate the following measurements to those nodes 1 step depth away from every other node. This kind of analysis does not apply to my project.

Visual Mean Depth/Visual Step Depth

Visual mean depth calculates the shortest visual path (fewest turns) from each point to every other point, summed, and then divided by the number of points in the graph.[159] The mean depth is displayed like all other visual measures, in raster form from blue to red colors. Areas that have low mean depth are easy to see from many other areas within the same house. For example, a *cubiculum* that has to be reached through three twisting hallways would have a very high mean depth and therefore would not be accessible from many other rooms in the system.

Visual Integration

Hillier and Hanson developed the visual integration measure, which is normalized mean depth.[160] The measure is essentially the same as Real Relative Asymmetry (RRA) as discussed earlier. Mean depth has to be normalized in order to compare different systems to each other because as the systems become larger, mean depth necessarily decreases as paths between rooms become longer. This normalization is produced by taking what is called the D (Diamond) value and applying it to the graph.[161] Integration, importantly, has been found to correlate with pedestrian traffic.[162] This measurement is labeled Visual Integration (HH) within Depthmap.[163] There are other RA normalization methods provided in Depthmap (P-value, TEK). However, extensive research has not

[159] (Turner 2004, 14)
[160] (Hillier and Hanson 1984)
[161] Ibid.
[162] (Turner 2004, 14)
[163] HH refers to Hillier and Hanson.

proven the applicability of these methods so, for the purposes of this dissertation, I will only use the Integration (HH) method, which will also correlate with the convex map data.

Integration, like mean depth, describes the average depth of a specific space relative to others in the system. However, as it is normalized it is easier to use when making comparisons between systems. Low integration values indicate a room is *more* accessible from other rooms in the system. Rooms with low integration values are easy to reach from all other spaces in the system. Central rooms like *atria* typically have low integration values.

Local Measures

Local measures measure the relationship between a node and those connected to it.[164]

Visual Control

Visual control identifies areas that "control" or are visually dominant over other areas.[165] Each location (for example area A) is assigned a value based on how many spaces it can see (areas B, C, andA D).[166] Each of these locations (B, C, and D) then is assigned a value based on the spaces it can see (areas E and F). Thus, an area of high control will be one that visually sees many other areas, but those areas it sees do not see

[164] (Turner 2004, 16)
[165] (Hillier and Hanson 1984, 109)
[166] (Turner 2004, 14)

many other areas. A perfect example of a controlling location is the *atrium*. The *atrium* looks onto many small rooms off the *atrium* that in turn do not look onto other areas. This value is expressed visually in raster data in colors ranging from blue to red and in numerical values in table view. Values greater than 1 indicate areas of strong visual control; those less than 1 indicate areas of weak visual control.[167]

Visual Controllability

Alasdair Turner developed the visual controllability measurement in 2001.[168] Controllability identifies areas that are easily "controlled" or visually dominated by other areas. Values closer to zero indicate a space of a low controllability; values greater than 1 indicate high controllability. This measure, like the others, is expressed in raster format in a color gradation ranging from red to blue and as data within the tables. Rooms off the *atrium* (like *cubicula*) often have high controllability as they have a limited visual field (often only onto the *atrium*) compared to the large visual field of the *atrium* to which they connect.

[167] (Hillier and Hanson 1984, 109)
[168] (Turner 2004, 16)

Other Measures

Agent Analysis/Gate Counts

In this analysis, an imaginary set of automata (in my data I use 50) are set loose to navigate the environment. The agents follow a set of behavioral rules including following the line of sight. This measurement has been found to correlate well with actual human movement patterns.[169] The results are expressed in raster format as "walking paths" of the 50 agents. These walking paths can be analyzed to understand the probable circulation paths throughout the house. It is also possible to compare these agent paths (the amount of pedestrian movement through the space) to the number of graffiti found in the space to see if graffiti locations correlate with the location of possible pedestrian movement.

Convex Map Analysis (CMA) in Depthmap

Convex Map Analysis (CMA) differs from Visual Graph Analysis because instead of an analysis from every point of the graph to every other point, an axial line graph is produced and analysis is then carried out from this graph, similar to the methodology used in JASS. The convex map is constructed by creating polygons in the rooms of the house. Each polygon joins to the rooms to which it is connected. Then the

[169] (Turner 2004, 2) I will not use Point First Movement, Point Second Movement, Visual Clustering Coefficient, Visual Entropy, and Visual Relativized Entropy in this dissertation. These measurements have been developed recently and their efficacy has been debated. (Turner 2004)

program calculates the convex graph analysis. The data obtained from this process should be very similar to the JASS data obtained earlier.

The main difference in these two types of analyses is that Visual Graph Analysis analyzes by grid points while Convex Map Analysis analyzes by polygon. This greatly affects the output raster graphs. VGA is more useful for understanding the placement of graffiti *within* a room, while CMA is more useful for understanding the placement of graffiti *by* room. However, I also use both VGA and CMA measurements in tabular form to compare statistically the location of graffiti by room type. I will discuss the results of both types of analysis in the next chapter.

Convex Map Analysis in Depthmap and JASS produces identical results. One benefit of completing convex map analysis in Depthmap rather than JASS is the ability to compare the measurements with the graffiti easily. The values calculated within Depthmap are displayed in "table view" to which the number of graffiti per room can be added for easy comparison. Further, Depthmap outputs the data as tables, which can be imported into Microsoft Excel. This process is much more difficult in JASS. Depthmap has the ability to create scatterplots of the data with best-fit lines and the correlation coefficient (r^2) value for easy comparison of data.[170] For example, it is possible to compare the control value with the number of graffiti per room through a graph with a best-fit line to see if the number in a given room is statistically normal.

[170] A best-fit line graphically displays the trend in the data and visualizes whether there is a linear relationship between the variables. Depthmap also includes the correlation coefficient, which indicates the strength and direction of the linear relationship between the two variables. Vales range from 0-1: 1 indicates a perfect linear relationship, while 0 represents no linear relationship.

One benefit of JASS is the straightforwardness of the program. For simple projects, or projects in which the user does not want to compare the CMA to another type of data, JASS is the better choice. It is easier to use and does not require the user to draw polygons onto the map to create the line graph.

The measurements used in the CMA are similar to those used with JASS and VGA. They include control, controllability, entropy, harmonic mean depth, integration (HH, P-value, and Tek), intensity, mean depth, RA (HH and Penn), RRA, relativized entropy, and total depth. Of these, the ones I used in this project include control, controllability, integration (HH), RA (HH), and RRA. The formulae for these measurements are identical to those discussed earlier.

Geographical Information Systems (GIS)

I have utilized GIS in this project as data management software. A base-plan and spatial data accessed through ESRI's ArcMAP make it possible to represent spatially all the graffiti in my database in order to visualize the placement of graffiti in the houses. This allows me to correlate the information in my database with the actual spaces in which the graffiti were located. Further, it allows a user to select graffiti by attributes to visualize spatial patterns within the graffiti distribution. Finally, I have georeferenced the maps created by Depthmap as separate raster files in GIS, which allows me easily to compare the Depthmap raster maps with the distribution of the graffiti.

First, I had to assign the graffiti in my database to the houses, rooms, walls, and parts of walls in which they were located. This is a very difficult and, in many instances,

impossible task. The relevant *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL)* volumes, edited from 1898 to 1970, contain records of all the graffiti found in the course of excavations at Pompeii during that period.[171] The early volumes, especially, lack spatial references and were written before modern data recording methods were introduced. Even the later *Pars III* does not always include drawings and the description of the location of each graffito is often vague. *CIL* volumes are divided into several sections, making them cumbersome to use: *corrigenda et addenda*[172], *programmata antiquissima*[173], *tituli picti recentiores*[174], *graphio scripta*[175], *vasa factilia*[176], *quadratariorum notae*[177], and indices. Graffiti for a specific house may be located in the *corrigenda, programmata antiquissima, tituli,* and *graphio* sections. One must scan through all these sections to find them, as there is no index by house. The sections of programmata and graffiti are further divided by *regio* (region), *insula* (block), and then *ostium* (doorway). Since most graffiti are not extant today, the *CIL* remains the only record for the transcription and location of many graffiti so much research on Pompeian graffiti is at the mercy of the editors of the *CIL*.[178] The accuracy of *CIL* editors, Della Corte in particular, has been questioned.[179]

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[171] CIL IV Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae Herculanenses Stabianae (1871), Pars I- Tabulae Ceratae (1898), Pars II Inscriptiones parietariae et vasorum fictilium (1909), Pars III Inscriptiones Pompeianae Herculanenses parietariae et vasorum fictilium (1952-1970)
[172] Corrections and addenda of the previous pars
[173] Older political programmata spanning from 80BC-50AD
[174] Painted wall inscriptions; contains both *programmata recentiores* (programmata from 50AD-79AD) as well as other, non-political, graffiti
[175] This contains the bulk of the graffiti (excluding programmata).
[176] Amphora stamps
[177] Stone makers' marks
[178] In 1973, Solin estimated 10% of graffiti were extant. (Solin 1973a) That percentage has only decreased since the time of his writing.
[179] (Solin 1973a) (Solin 1968) (Varone 1997)

In *CIL* IV Pars I, even finding a particular house can be difficult. The material proceeds spatially by street or sometimes house. Then, the number of the house on the street is given. These numbers have to be correlated to a map in the back of the volume, in which the numbers are very small and difficult to find. Fortunately, the graffiti in my corpus that come from this volume were all labeled with their house names, making this process much easier. The entry for CIL IV 2369 reads, "Strada Stabiana/ in aedibus n.110 (casa del citarista)/ in peristylii medii B columna, quae in ordinum occidentalis et septrionalis angolo posita est, in rubro tectorio, circiter 1,00 m supra pavimentum." (On the Via Stabiana, in house number 110 (Casa del Citarista), on a column of the middle peristyle (b), which is positioned in the corner of the north and west rows, in red plaster, about 1 meter above the pavement). From this information, one must look in the map at the back of the volume, locate Via Stabiana, house 110 and then peristyle B. Fortunately, only a few graffiti in my corpus come from this volume.[180]

In *CIL* IV Pars II and III, finding the house is easier because the house numbers follow Della Corte's house numbering system.[181] For example, the entry for CIL IV 4505 reads, "in house number 20, House of Marcus Vesonius Primus (Casa di Orfeo), in the third column from the right of the front side of the peristyle, facing the East, in white plaster."[182] These descriptions are obviously very helpful in pinpointing the location. However, unless the graffito is extant today, finding the exact placement on the column is

[180] Houses I.4.5 (Casa del Citarista), VII.11.11 (Casa dei Cristiani), VII.12.35 (Inn of Eumachia)
[181] It is important to note that his numbers differ from the currently used plan (Eschebach's 1970 plan *Die städtbauliche Entwicklung des antiken Pompeji)* in Regio I and II. I have no houses in my corpus from the affected *insulae*.
[182] I*n aedibus n. 20 M. Vesoni Primi (Casa di Orfeo)/ in peristylii lateris anterioris columna tertia a d., orientem versus, in tetorio albo*

impossible. Even the later volumes of the *CIL* rarely document the graffito's height from the ground.

Generally, I am confident that I have been able to identify the wall on which a given graffito was located. The authors generally proceed from the *fauces* and the right wall refers to the right wall from the entrance – but following these directions, even when on the ground, can be difficult. Many times the authors use room names as identifiers, which, as has been shown earlier, are subjective. What the editors meant by "*oecus*," "*triclinium*," or "*cubiculum*" cannot always be determined.

For this reason, the identifications in my GIS database should be used as relative locations. I am confident I have been able to locate the walls on which the graffiti were located, but the position of the graffito on that wall can rarely be determined unless I have been able to locate it personally.[183] Rarely do the *CIL* editors give measurements of graffiti from doorways or other features, which might help in locating a graffito within a wall. If graffiti appear to be in clusters or superimposed, I have tried to group them together on the wall on the GIS map.[184] However, even if I am not able to locate the exact spot on the wall in which a graffito was located, this will not hamper my analysis, which primarily looks at the distribution of graffiti within rooms rather than across wall surfaces.

One benefit of using GIS to manage the graffiti is the ability to select by attributes and display those selected graffiti in the map. This allows the viewer to see the

[183] See **Figure 15** for a map of those graffiti I have been able to locate.
[184] Graffiti that appeared very close to each other (or superimposed) on the wall appear as dots very closer to each other in my GIS map.

distribution of types of graffiti easily. To do this, I joined the GIS points with my excel database (ID-CIL #). I will discuss my analysis of the visual information of this distribution in the next chapter.

Viewshed Analysis

Initially, I intended to compare GIS viewsheds to the results obtained from the Depthmap and JASS data by creating GIS viewsheds at several points throughout the house to examine how many graffiti were visible from certain locations. However, I encountered several difficulties in using GIS with my data. GIS viewshed analysis uses elevation data (converted into a TIN file), then, from several observer points, creates a viewshed. GIS software was developed for use in large-scale spatial systems and does not easily apply to small-scale systems such as houses. First, the current data (shapefiles) for Pompeii do not have elevation data for the house walls or for the topography itself. Without the elevation data of the topography, we cannot know truly how much would be visible from an observation point. The floors in many houses slope, sometimes significantly, and this would change the amount of space visible to observers.

Other scholars have invented ingenious ways to use Pompeian data in GIS to circumvent these problems. Michael Anderson, for example, has converted his maps into a .bmp file and demarcated "walls" and "floors" with different colors, which were

interpreted by the GIS software as different heights.[185] Then he placed a horizontal grid at 5-meter intervals and created a viewshed from each point.[186]

Ultimately, I decided that the results from GIS viewshed analysis were not different or useful enough to justify continued work to find a way to make viewsheds work with small-scale interior spaces (such as my data). In Depthmap, I was able to create a map similar to Anderson's viewshed method. To do this, I took my basic AutoCAD plan and took out any feature that might interfere with a viewshed from any visible point within the house. This meant that I removed all parapet walls, *impluvia*, cooking hearths, or any other extraneous items from the plan. Then, I completed the Depthmap analysis as shown above.

2.5 Conclusion

I have outlined previous scholarship on room use in antiquity. One persistent problem in this scholarship has centered on the question of how room names should be applied to archaeological materials. Approaches to this problem have varied. Some scholars like Mau have applied room names derived from Vitruvius to the archaeological material from Pompeii without question. Other scholars, like Allison, eschew all use of traditional room names and instead prefer terms like "front hall" to describe areas of the house. I argue that while the application of ancient room names without nuance to the

[185] (Anderson 2004b, 186) The heights were arbitrary: walls 10,000 meters, open space 0.
[186] Ibid.

archaeological material is problematic, complete avoidance of this material is unnecessary and confusing. One benefit of access analysis is that it uses numerical values for the room names. Therefore, I analyzed the results without knowing the room spaces they correspond to or the room names traditionally applied to them. After this analysis, I was able to match the numbers up to the rooms/room names in order to interpret the results. In this way, I have avoided completely basing my results on the appellation already given to a room while still taking into account the type of room in my interpretation of the results.

I have chosen to use a variety of methodologies in this dissertation in order to take advantage of the benefits of each, while avoiding some of their disadvantages. Convex Graph Analysis, carried out through the computer programs JASS and Depthmap, compares polygons (rooms). The measurements in this analysis will indicate how connected a room is to others around it, how "controlling" a room is of the other rooms around it, and how easy it is to reach from other rooms in the same house.

The measurements in visual graph analysis will indicate how easy it is to see the location from all other locations in the house (integration), how visually controlling the room is (control), and how visually controllable it is (controllability). Agent analysis will show the possible pedestrian movement patterns among rooms. I argue that this analysis, when compared with the location of graffiti, will indicate what spatial properties were preferred as locations for graffiti writing. These methods will show whether graffiti writers tended to prefer *physically* secluded places, not connected with many others, or areas well connected to the rest of the house. This comparison will also indicate whether

graffiti are often written in places *visually* secluded from other rooms or areas easily seen from the rest of the system. I will compare the agent analysis to the placement of the graffiti to see whether graffiti writers tended to write in areas of high pedestrian traffic or chose areas more off the beaten track. Finally, by analyzing this data I will be able to create a "normal" pattern of graffiti distribution within the houses of my corpus. Any houses that deviate from this "normal" pattern might be explained through a change of use or practice in spatial use of the home.

Chapter Three

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the results of access analysis completed through the methods described in the previous chapter. I use Convex Map Analysis, Visual Graph Analysis, and Agent Analysis to identify the pattern of graffiti location in these buildings. With this pattern, I suggest reasons why the authors chose to write the graffiti in the particular locations they did. Further, through the analysis of several buildings I am able to compare distributions from one house to another. Having outlined a "typical" graffiti distribution, I identify the reasons why some houses deviate from this norm. This process will provide a clearer picture of where graffiti tend to be located in the houses of Pompeii as well as reasons for such a distribution.

3.2 Analysis of quantitative data

I categorized all of the graffiti from the 12 buildings of my sample according to the type of room and type of graffito. First, I categorized the graffiti into classes: textual, drawing, or numeral.[187] Then I categorized the textual graffiti into types based on my subjective assessment of the most prominent characteristics of the graffito. An appendix of the graffiti types can be found in Appendix B. To add nuance to the data, each graffito

[187] This classification is a common way to distinguish types of graffiti (see Langner 2001, Benefiel 2010a, Benefiel 2011). Hybrid graffiti of two of these types (like a drawing that also contained text) was classified in both categories, with the most prominent characteristic classified as type 1.

could be assigned to as many as three types (for example sexual, woman's name, and commerce). Type 1 is the primary characteristic of the graffito, followed by type 2 and 3. This allows me to calculate all the graffiti with "literary" as their prominent characteristic (type 1) as well as the number of graffiti with "literary" as types 1, 2 or 3.

Concentration by Class

Of the 306 graffiti in my sample, 219 are typed as primarily textual (71.5%), 64 as numerals (20%) and 23 as drawings (7.5%).[188] Numerals, often strings of Roman numerals, are most common in the *atrium*, but this distribution is skewed due to the presence of 43 numerals in the *atrium* of house V.1.18. The walls were, we assume, used as scratch paper since access to paper or other materials for the purpose was limited. It is impossible now to know whether the numerals were recording objects, money, or people.

The distribution of drawings is similar to that of textual graffiti, although two drawings occur in latrines, an atypical place for graffiti writing. The most popular place for drawings was the peristyle (45%) followed by the *atrium* (17.5%).

I have further divided the textual graffiti into types. The overwhelmingly dominant type 1 in my sample is "male name" (47%) (see **Figures 8** and **10**). Male name occurs as type 1, 2, or 3 in 119 graffiti (36%).[189] The most popular place for a male name was the peristyle (32, 27%), followed by the *cubiculum* (23, 19%) and the *atrium* (15, 12.6%).

[188] See **Figure 12** for GIS map of graffiti drawings
[189] This percentage corresponds to Langner's results. Of the graffiti in his sample, he found that 34.4% were names. This percentage did not vary considerably in inside rooms and outside rooms. (Langner 2001, 22)

One possible reason for such a preponderance of graffiti in the *atrium* and peristyle is that these areas are often the largest rooms in the house and therefore had the most available wall space for graffiti writing as well as the most traffic. These are the rooms of most activity, leading to an increased number of inscriptions. By contrast, the high quantity of graffiti in *cubicula*, a room not commonly considered one of high public activity, is skewed because of a large number of graffiti in the *cubicula* in *hospitia* (inns). These graffiti will be discussed in a further section.

Of the graffiti with male names, the most common type was a single name, i.e. a name without reference to another person or action (62%). These names were most often in the nominative case. The second most common type within the male name graffiti was a greeting from a male to another male or group of people (18%).[190] The third most common type was a greeting to a male from an unidentified writer (6%). This data may have been skewed by the actions of one writer, Crescens, who appears in 16 of these single male names (14%). I will discuss Crescens and the graffiti associated with him in Chapter Five.

Female names are much fewer (119 male to 18 female) (see **Figures 8** and **11**).[191] They show up predominately in greetings to females (37%) or as single names (56%). There are several reasons for the lower quantity. Female literacy was undoubtedly lower

[190] Greetings were 11.3% of Langner's sample. (Langner 2001, 22) For more examples of greetings, see (Benefiel 2010a).
[191] Of the approximately 11,000 Pompeian graffiti, around 400 mention women or have a woman's name.

or much lower than male literacy,[192] and this fact would certainly affect the number of graffiti.[193] Still, the graffiti that mention female names tend to appear in the same types of places where names mentioning males appear.

Second, male social practice encouraged movement throughout the city. Men needed to travel around town to visit clients, patrons, friends, or business associates. Men would have had many more opportunities to write during the day.[194] The proliferation of greetings from males to other males throughout the city shows that one use of domestic wall space was to serve as the message board for the inhabitants of the city.[195]

In her analysis of the Dura-Europos synagogue Stern emphasizes a principal difference between ancient onomastic graffiti and modern "tagging." Modern tagging is stylized to appeal to and be read by a limited audience.[196] By contrast, graffiti in the synagogue (and many onomastic graffiti in Pompeii) are visible and easily read by a large audience. However, both modern tagging and ancient graffiti seem to have been

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[192] For competing views of literacy in the ancient world, especially as it pertains to women, see (Harris 1989), (Franklin 1991) and (Kruschwitz, P. and Halla-Aho, H. 2007). Current scholarship has emphasized multiplicity of literacies. (Baird J. and Taylor, C. 2011, 10)

[193] However, it is important to note that large claims about female literary cannot be drawn from such a small data set. Multiple graffiti from Pompeii appear to be written from female authors (including greetings to women from women). See CIL IV 1819, 1881, 2003A, 2003B, 2003C, 2457, 3905, 7062, 7063 among others. See also the graffiti in the House of the Four Styles, which contains several greetings to women. (Benefiel 2011)

[194] This is not to say that women did not travel around the city as well. Indeed, a number of graffiti written by women seem to suggest this point. However, social and business duties made this practice a necessity for men.

[195] In this dissertation, inhabitants are those people who live in the house including (but not limited to) the *paterfamilias* and his family, slaves and tenants. Visitors are people who do not live in the house. (Anderson 2004a, 147) The presence of similar messages among women shows this practice was extended to females as well, albeit to a smaller degree.

[196] (Stern 2012, 173)

motivated by a desire to appropriate space.[197] While modern gangs often use graffiti to identify their territory, a place where those who do not belong should not go,[198] ancient graffiti artists seem to have appropriated the space in an inclusive manner, as a way to communicate with others.[199] Graffiti in antiquity, as today, were a way to situate oneself within a community and connect with others within that community.[200]

It is impossible, now, to be completely confident of our ability to identify the author of a graffito, even when a name is present. "Rufilla was here" could have been written by another person, although the simplest explanation is that Rufilla herself wrote it. Benefiel has suggested that although anonymity is a primary characteristic of modern graffiti (but not tags), it does not seem to be so in antiquity.[201] Pompeians proudly proclaimed authorship of drawings and graffiti as a way to celebrate their literacy and gain recognition.[202]

The second most common graffiti type was unidentifiable (7.6% type one, 13% total) (see **Figure 14**). Graffiti are characterized as unidentifiable for one of two reasons. First, due to poor preservation, the graffito was unable to be read by excavators or modern scholars. Second, the graffito was only partially written, illegibly written, or written with mistakes in antiquity.[203]

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[197] (Stern 2012, 173) (Baird J. and Taylor, C. 2011, 9)
[198] (Ley, D. and Cybriwsky, R. 1974, 495)
[199] Benefiel introduced the approach of looking at graffiti as a dialogue and in context with other graffiti. (Benefiel 2010a) See also (Milnor 2009) (Taylor 2011).
[200] (Taylor 2011, 95)
[201] (Benefiel 2011, 27)
[202] Ibid.
[203] Kruschwitz suggests many reasons for mistakes in graffiti including the speed in which the writer wrote the graffito, the difficulty in marking in a hard surface, and the size of the letters. (Kruschwitz 2010b)

The third most common type of graffito is poetry (6.62% type 1, 14.5% total) (see **Figure 13**). The poetry type refers to graffiti that reference a known literary author or unknown (perhaps local) author. The most popular place poetry graffiti were found was the peristyle (14 or 40% of the total). This is interesting as poetry graffiti tend to be quite long and would probably have taken the longest time to write. Writing long graffiti in the peristyle assumes the writer had time in the space to compose and scratch poetry at leisure into the wall or column, which gives further evidence that the act of writing on walls was not illicit. Given that one of the identified purposes of the peristyles was relaxing and visiting, there may have been ample opportunity for composing these long messages.

Concentration by Area

The most popular area for graffiti in my sample was the *atrium* (77, 26.1%) (see **Figures 9** and **17**).[204] Second was the peristyle (72, 23.5%) (see **Figure 16**) and third was the *cubiculum* (34, 11.4%) (see **Figure 18**). However, as I noted in Chapter Two, *cubiculum* is a vague term and not easily defined. *Cubiculum* can be used to identify a bedroom or just a small room of undefined purpose. Graffiti reported by the *CIL* to have been found in a "*conclavis*," "*cella*," or "*membrum*" may have been in the same sort of location as "*cubiculum*." If these terms are combined, then the number of graffiti in these

[204] This calculation includes rooms termed "peristyle", "*porticus*", "pseudoperistyle" "*tetrastylum*" *ambulacrum*, or "*viridarium*" which are all essentially different names for a similar location. The prevalence of graffiti in the peristyle has been observed in many houses including V.2.4 (House of the Triclinium), 7.7.5 (House of Triptolemus), 1.7.1 (House of Paquius Proculus),V.2.i (House of the Silver Wedding), among others. (Benefiel 2011, 30) Langner also observed a proliferation of graffiti in the peristyle in his study of drawings. (Langner 2001, 101)

rooms constitutes 19.6% of the total (see **Figure 19**). The least common area for graffiti in my sample was "*cella*" (a general word for room) (1, .3%), *cucina* (1, .3%), and storeroom (1, .3%).

The proliferation of graffiti in the *atrium* is expected.[205] This is the first place in the house most people would enter. Vitruvius states that the *atrium*, peristyle, and the vestibule are common areas open to anyone without an invitation.[206] A primary purpose for the *atrium* is the Roman ritual of the *salutatio*, the systematic visit of dependents to their patron.[207] Vitruvius makes the importance of this ritual clear: men of common status, he says, have no need for an *atrium* or *tablinum* as they typically "*aliis officia praestant ambiundo neque ab aliis ambiuntur"* (they perform their duties by visiting, not by being visited by others).[208] However, Allison's research on the room assemblages has proved the multipurpose nature of this room as a place for weaving and storage as well, suggesting that the room received heavy use from household dwellers as well as visitors.[209] Therefore, if the number of graffiti corresponds to the volume of users, the large quantity of graffiti in this room is to be expected.[210]

The proliferation of graffiti in the peristyle is perhaps unexpected. Many scholars have assumed that the peristyle was only open to invited visitors, a transitional space

[205] (Cooley, A. and Cooley, M. 2004)
[206] Vitruvius, *De Architectura VI.5*
[207] (Clarke 1991, 4)
[208] Vitruvius, *De Architectura VI.5*
[209] (Allison 2007, 271)
[210] Interestingly, Huntley has found that graffiti she identified as written by children were not found in the *atrium*. She suggests that rather than being forbidden from the *atrium*, children were subject to different social expectations in this space. (Huntley 2011, 79)

between public and private.[211] Other scholars, like Dickmann, argue that the peristyle was a place where guests could enter freely, but more for perambulation than for reception.[212] The dominance of graffiti in this location suggests that the location was a place open freely to guests. Many scholars are dismissive of Vitruvius and the applicability of his work to Pompeian evidence.[213] However, his observation that the peristyle was indeed among the *loca communia* of a house seems to be confirmed by the distribution of graffiti.[214] Furthermore, graffiti in the peristyles tend to cluster on columns, indicating these were highly visible and well-traversed areas, especially around the portico walking areas.

The location of graffiti in *cubicula* (19.76% with all terms combined) is unexpected. Literary evidence suggests that the *cubiculum* was a place of private reception as well as sleeping,[215] yet the large quantity of graffiti located in these places seems to conform to neither of these activities. This data may be biased by the presence of two inns within the corpus. When those buildings are removed the percentage of graffiti in those rooms drops to 12%.[216] However, I propose that the presence of some (albeit not many) graffiti in the *cubicula* indicates that while writing graffiti is

[211] (Leach 1997) (Grahame 1997) (Clarke 1991)
[212] (Dickmann 1997, 123) (Wallace-Hadrill 1994) George characterizes the difference between the use of the *atrium* and peristyle as "gradients of space depending on status, rather than a sharp polarity between public and private." (George 1997a, 310)
[213] (Allison 2004) (Leach 1997)
[214] Communia autem sunt, quibus etiam invocati suo iure de populo possunt venire, id est vestibula, cava aedium, **peristylia**, quaeque eundem habere possunt usum (VI.5)
[215] (Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17) (Riggsby 1997)
[216] I will discuss the significance of these inns and the unlikely graffiti distribution found within them below.

overwhelmingly a public act, it can also be a private one. Furthermore, this evidence may suggest that the *cubicula* were used for less private functions as well.

I have classified the rooms of the house into categories of rooms that have historically been identified as similar in function. They are: entry spaces (*aditus*, *fauces*, *ostium*, *vestibulum*), large public reception spaces (*atrium*, *ala*, *tablinum*), large gathering spaces (*ambulacrum*, *peristylium*, *pseudoperistylium*, *porticus*, *tetrastylum*, *viridarium*), private reception spaces (*oecus*, *triclinium*), small areas (*cella*, *conclavis*, *cubiculum*, *membrum*) and service areas (*cucina*, storeroom, *latrina*).[217] The most common sphere where graffiti were found was the large gathering spaces (130, 42.4%), followed by the large public reception spaces (72, 23.5%), then the small areas (47, 15.3%), the private reception spaces (27, 8%), the entry spaces (22, 7.1%) and the service areas (4, 1.3%).

These results point to several conclusions. First, it has been suggested that the primary authors of graffiti were slaves.[218] If this were the case, we should expect a predominant number of graffiti to be in areas where slaves worked in the home. However, as this data shows, this is not the case. Only 1.5% of the graffiti were found in service areas. That is not to say that slaves were not capable of writing graffiti in public areas of the home, but we should expect more in "their" areas of the house as well (especially the kitchen).

[217] See **Figure 20** for entry spaces, **Figure 21** for large public reception spaces, **Figure 22** for large gathering spaces, **Figure 23** for private reception spaces, **Figure 24** for small areas and **Figure 25** service areas.

[218] (Wallace 2005, XXIV) (Mouritsen 1988) Franklin suggests graffiti were written by the lower classes (2006; 87). Contra: (Krushwitz, P. and Halla-Aho, H. 2007)

These results, however, differ markedly from the Villa San Marco, in which 36% of the graffiti were found in service areas and 18% in the bath area.[219] The graffiti in the portico made up 32% of the total, but only 8% of the graffiti were in the *atrium*.[220] This represents, I suggest, a change in social practice between houses and villas. The *atrium*, a place of high graffiti concentrations in nearly every house of my corpus, is far less prominent location for graffiti in the Villa San Marco. Urban patterns of visitation, such as the *salutatio*, may not have been practiced, at least not in a systematic way, at the villa. The quantity of graffiti in the service and bath areas does indeed suggest that household slaves in the villa created some of the graffiti, indicating either that there were more slaves in the Villa San Marco than in the houses in my corpus or that the villa's slaves were more willing to write graffiti.

Second, the results of this quantitative analysis show a trend towards public writing. The large gathering spaces and public reception spaces were among the most public areas of the house. The *atrium* was certainly public and the peristyle would have been available to many guests if not all visitors as well. These two areas combined make up 71.73% of the graffiti. Spaces that were more private, including small areas, private reception spaces, and service areas, provide a little more than a quarter of the graffiti. There are at least three possible reasons for such a distribution. First, the public areas of the house were more frequented by visitors and guests in the house. Second, these public areas of the house were loci of activity for the inhabitants as well. These results give

[219] (Baldwin, E., Moulden, H., and Laurence, R. 2013, 163)
[220] Ibid.

further credence to the idea that graffiti writing was practiced openly in antiquity. If graffiti had been taboo, we should expect it to have predominated in private rather than public spaces, since these spaces were under less surveillance. Third, the public areas of the house occupy more area overall and thus by sheer proportion of wall space would be expected to have more graffiti.

The normal graffiti distribution, then, is marked by a predominance of graffiti in the *atrium* and peristyle. Graffiti in these spaces tend to be numerals, single names, and greetings, though not exclusively. The peristyle contains large quantities, additionally, of drawings, graffiti about other cities, and poetry. A normal household distribution would also consistute a couple of graffiti sprinkled throughout other rooms in the house, including the *fauces*/*vestibulum*,[221] *tablinum*, *triclinium*, and *cubiculum*. Major quantities of graffiti in any of these rooms are not normal. Graffiti in these rooms tend to be of the same mix seen elsewhere; no type predominates in any single room.

Graffiti Density

One limitation of the quantification model as explained above is it has no way to account for the size of the room. For example, 20 graffiti in the *atrium* may be as dense as three graffiti in a very small *cubiculum*. For this reason, I have also quantified the graffiti by density.[222] To do this I measured the lengths of the walls of the room and

[221] There is likely a conceptual difference between what a Roman would call a *vestibulum* or *fauces* (See Leach 1993), but since they serve the same general purpose (hallway into the house and possibly waiting area for guests) they are grouped together in this analysis.
[222] I thank Dr. Eric Poheler for the suggestion of this method.

divided by the number of graffiti on that wall. I then summed those averages. This measurement does not describe the distance between the graffiti (which is never possible to know since most are not extant). However, it measures the density relative to the available wall space of the room. I measured the peristyle walls (including parapet walls) separately from the peristyle columns (measured by circumference) in order to investigate the differences in the density between the columns and the walls.

The houses range in density from 1 graffito per 2.33m (House I.6.4) to 1 graffito per 18.22m (House V.2.4).[223] The overall average of all the houses is one graffito per 8.07m. The densest concentration of graffiti was in the *atrium* of house V.1.18 (50 graffiti, 24.68 m.). However, the area overall with the densest concentration of graffiti belongs to the peristyle columns. The columns of house V.2.4 had 23 graffiti over 11.76m of aggregate surface circumference.[224] House VI.14.20 had 17 graffiti over 16.93m of aggregate circumference. The four areas with the sparsest concentration of graffiti were the peristyle walls (not columns) of houses I.9.13, I.4.5, V.1.18, and V.2.4. This shows that while peristyles appear in the quantification analysis to have the greatest number of graffiti, the density of graffiti is concentrated on the columns, rather than the walls.

In general, the *fauces* have the densest concentration of graffiti (one graffito per 3.00 m). This makes sense, as their lack of front or back walls contributes to an increased

[223] For this calculation, I assume that all Pompeian houses have the same vertical height. This is not true, but since the vertical height of the wall never precluded more graffiti writing (there is always more space above and below graffiti clusters for additional messages) this does not affect the result.
[224] The space of the columns was measured by calculating the circumference from the diameter of the column and adding these circumferences together.

density on the remaining two. The second densest concentration of graffiti overall occurs in the *atrium* (3.89 m per graffito), which also has the greatest average number of graffiti. The third greatest area of graffiti density is peristyle columns (4.49 m per graffito). Next are the *tablinum*, *oecus*, and *cubiculum* (all around 7.4 m per graffito) and the kitchen (9.7m per graffito). Counterintuitively, the areas of the least density are the *triclinium* (11.70m per graffito) and the peristyle walls (35.23m per graffito).

3.3 Convex Map Analysis

Mean RRA Analysis

One way to understand the basic spatial structure of the building is through an analysis of the Mean Real Relative Asymmetry (MRRA) of the building, an average of the RRA of each space within the building. MRRA values indicate the degree to which spaces within the building are shallow or deep relative to each other.[225] Buildings that have a low MRRA value are well integrated, while areas with a high MRRA value are not well integrated.

The MRRA values vary in my data from .78 (V.2.g) to 1.26 (V.4.a) (see **Figure 26**). There is no strong correlation between the size of the house and the MRRA value (r = .14).[226] House V.2.g has a ring-like structure, increasing the integration of the spaces

[225] (Stöger 2011, 166)
[226] As stated in Chapter Two, I have used the following measurements of statistical significance of correlation: r= >.70 (very strong), .40-.70 (strong), .30-.39 (moderate), .20-.29 (weak), .01-.19 (no relationship)

(low MRRA). By contrast, house VII.11.11 is a maze-like structure with an unusual and remote *viridarium* in the rear of the house (high MRRA).

The houses with the two highest MRRA values are V.4.a and VII.11.11. The high MRRA in house V.4.a is due to the narrow hallway that connects the two main nodes of the house. Excavators identified building VII.11.11 as a "*hospitium*" (inn). These values indicate that the spaces within the buildings are not well integrated with each other. The traffic flow of an inn requires that rooms be separated, without easy access to others.

Furthermore, there is a moderate correlation between the MRRA value of the house and the number of graffiti ($r = .31$), indicating that the overall integration of the house plays some role in the likelihood for graffiti in the house .[227] However, the MRRA value only allows a preliminary sketch of the building and a cursory understanding of its structure; thus each house will be discussed in following section in detail. [228]

3.4 Convex Map Analysis of Individual Houses

In this section, I apply Convex Map Analysis to each individual house in my corpus and compare that analysis to the location of graffiti. I am particularly interested in identifying houses not containing the normal quantitative distribution I discovered earlier. Assessment of individual houses begins with identifying the domains within each

[227] The log of number graffiti was used in this and all the calculations in this dissertation in order to test for linear correlation.
[228] (Stöger 2011, 166)

building. A domain includes nodes with a control value greater than two and all the spaces connected with it.[229]

Case Study: I.4.5

Popularly called the House of the Citharist, this house is expansive (2156 m²) and very well known. It is actually several houses joined together in antiquity (see **Figures 27** and **28**). The *atrium* (1) was constructed in the third century BC.[230] During the course of the second century BC, it was renovated with the addition of peristyles 13 and 17. Sometime after 80BC, the third peristyle (room 35) was added along with another *atrium* (46).[231] After the earthquake of AD 62, the southern part of the house underwent renovations, which were essential for the social standing of the supposed *paterfamilias*, L. Popidius Secundus, a prominent citizen of Pompeii.[232] The quick renovation of the southern *atrium* underscores the importance of the room within the political and domestic spheres of the house. As I will discuss further in Chapter Five, Lucius Popidius Secundus, who was both a freedman and an *Augustianus* (a member of Nero's artistic troupe), owned the house.[233] It was in this role that Lucius probably acquired the vast wealth needed to acquire and maintain a house this large. He shared the house with his fellow freedman Lucius Ampliatus Secundus. They both had homonymous sons who stood for office in AD 75 and AD 79.[234]

[229] (Grahame 1997, 153)
[230] (de Vos 1990a, 117)
[231] Ibid.
[232] Ibid, 539. (Franklin 2001, 115)
[233] (Franklin 2001, 115)
[234] Ibid.

This house, because of its large size, has multiple domains. The domains are nodes 1, 13, 17, 19, 33, 35, and 46. Graffiti are found in relatively few spaces in this house, only in rooms 17 (the middle peristyle), room 19 (the *oecus*), room 32 (the *tetrastylum*), and room 35 (the upper peristyle).

Node	Traditional Room Name	Ranking according to Control Value	Ranking according to Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior	Accessibility[235]	Number of graffiti
1	Atrium	1	5	2	Moderately high	0
13	Peristyle	7	3 (tied)	5	Moderately low	0
17	Peristyle	5	1	4	Moderately low	2
19	Oecus	4	3 (tied)	5	High	2
33	Hallway	6	6	5	Low	0
35	Peristyle	3	2	3	High	6
46	Atrium	2	7	2	Moderately high	0

Table 3.1: I.4.5 Domains

The previous table shows the domain nodes ranked according to control value and real relative asymmetry.[236] There is no strong correlation between the control value and RRA value of each domain node.[237] From these two values, I assessed the presence availability of the space. Following Grahame, I am able to hypothesize about the types of activities that occurred in each space given the presence availability.[238]

[235] Following (Grahame 1997, 150)
[236] Figure based on (Grahame 1997, 154).
[237] This correlates well with Grahame's findings in the House of the Faun (Grahame 1997, 154)
[238] Potential Presence Availability (Grahame, 2000)

	High accessibility	Low accessibility
High control	High	Moderately high
Low control	Moderately low	Low

Spaces of high presence availability include rooms 19 and 35 in I.4.5.[239] Room 35 is the upper peristyle. It directly connects to the middle peristyle as well as ten other rooms. Room 19 is an unexpected domain in this sample. It is a large room, typically termed an *oecus*, located off the eastern side of room 17 (the middle peristyle). However, this room connects to five other rooms whose only connection is to this room, contributing to a very high control value.[240] Further, the room's central location off the central peristyle makes it accessible from many areas within the house, contributing to a relatively high RRA ranking as well. Therefore, this space would naturally be the location of social occasions (formal gatherings in the *oecus*) as well as random interaction (inhabitants encountering each other as they go to the *cubicula*, slaves passing the inhabitants as they go to the stables).

Spaces of low presence availability include room 33. These spaces, due to their low RRA ranking, are not likely to be entered unless for a specific reason.[241] Space 33 is a hallway that connects the middle peristyle to the service areas and latrine (spaces 27-31). Obviously, this would not be a place of formal events and any encounters between people would occur as they both passed through the space.[242]

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[239] (Grahame 1997, 155)

[240] It was connected to two possible *cubicula* (24 and 25), a storeroom (22) a triclinium (20) as well as the doorway to 1.4.28, the stables and possible home of a procurator. (Della Corte 1965, 266). This area was not analyzed as connected to this house as it may represent a separate dwelling and may have been relatively closed off from the main house. Certainly, adding an analysis with this house connected to the main would change the analysis. However, since the people travelling into the stables or the procurator's house would be limited it is more profitable to analyze the main house.

[241] (Grahame 1997, 156)

[242] This example shows the disadvantage of Grahame's presence availability labels. Grahame would have labeled this space as suitable for occasions due to the low presence availability. His system has no way to account for the room use, room shape, or room size in the model. Although access analysis would suggest

Rooms 13 and 17, the middle and lower peristyles, have moderately low presence availability. Unlike the upper peristyle, they connect to relatively few spaces and thus tend to have a lower control value. Spaces of moderately low presence availability facilitate gatherings; they provide access to very few other spaces but are relatively accessible overall.[243] This is interesting because it allows differentiation between the three peristyles: the more "controlling" the peristyle, the more graffiti found there. We find more graffiti in the upper and middle peristyles than the lower. Therefore, it may be surmised that at least in this house, control as well as integration is an important factor in the potential for graffiti in a particular space. The lower peristyle has weak control over its adjoining rooms (least of all the nodes). Its weak control did not force interaction in the space; it was easy to navigate around the peristyle to reach most other rooms in the system. This accounts for the dearth of graffiti in this area.

Spaces of moderately high presence availability were room 1 and 46, the *atria*; these spaces have less accessibility than the high presence availability spaces[244] Grahame suggests that one benefit of staging occasions (staged social events) in such a spaces was to reduce the likelihood of disruption. Room 1 is the *atrium* off the I.4.5 entrance and room 46 in the *atrium* off the 1.4.25 entrance. My results parallel Grahame's, in which the space of moderately high presence availability was also the *atrium* (room 17);[245] but I disagree with Grahame's classification of spaces of moderately high presence availability

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this hallway was suitable for occasions, it is unlikely as it was a small and transitory space. Access analysis cannot account for this obvious functional limitation.

[243] (Grahame 1997, 156)

[244] (Grahame 1997, 157)

[245] Ibid.

as spaces for occasions only. Gatherings probably occurred here as well. While somewhat removed from the center of the house, and difficult to reach from the center, the *atrium* was used for many activities throughout the day by many members of the family. It is therefore misleading to suggest that transitory social encounters would not occur in such a highly frequented place like this. Further, its mean depth ensured that anyone entering the house would have to pass through this room, increasing the likelihood for gatherings.

One reason for choosing the House of the Citharist as an example is that unlike many Pompeian houses, it has more than one entrance (I.4.5, 1.4.25, as well as a back door, 1.4.28). I analyzed the access data on the house using both entrances. However, because both entrances are set up almost in parallel (they proceed from the *fauces*, through an *atrium*, to the peristyle), changing the root node from space 1 to space 46 did not change the data significantly. This result is true of all the houses in my sample with multiple doors.

Hierarchy of Access

With these presence availability labels in mind, it is now possible to identify the hierarchy of the areas of the house. These hierarchies change depending on the status of the individual entering the spaces, and because of the dual entry and triple peristyle of this house, a clear hierarchy is difficult to establish. What is clear is that spaces of moderately high presence availability occur at the entrances (rooms 1 and 46) while spaces of high and moderately low presence availability are in the middle of the house.

This reflects the different social nature of the spaces. Spaces 1 and 46 were primarily locations for occasions only (although I have already argued that this may be an oversimplification), while the rest of the nodes were suitable for gatherings or both occasions and gatherings. The public areas of the house were the areas closer to the exterior, while the interior rooms were for more private events. This aligns well with Grahame's conclusions about the nature of spaces in the House of the Faun.[246]

To differentiate the house in terms of the inhabitant-visitor axis, Grahame has proposed using the depth from the exterior as a way to identify spaces available to guests/strangers and those spaces prohibited from them. In this model, both *atria* (1 and 46) have the same depth from the *fauces*. Unlike other houses with dual *atria*, both *atria* appear equally grand, both contain a view to the peristyle and both contain many side rooms including *ala*e. It is perfectly possible that each of the two freedmen, Lucius Secundus and Lucius Ampliatus, used his own *atrium*. The only difference is the inclusion of a *tablinum* in *atrium* 1. The *atria* cannot be distinguished by spatial analysis alone.

Grahame dismisses the idea that a peristyle could have been a reception place for guests because the peristyle in his sample house was of low presence availability. In fact, the areas with the highest presence availability in the House of the Citharist were the upper peristyle (room 35) and a room off the middle peristyle (room 19). On the evidence of abundant graffiti in the peristyles of the House of the Citharist and many other houses in my corpus, I content that peristyles are actually places of high presence

[246] (Grahame 1997, 157)

availability. In many houses, the segregated peristyle plan is not the norm. Further, as has been stated above, the preponderance of graffiti in the peristyle indicates that this was a place where many people (guests, inhabitants, slaves) entered, congregated, and walked around.

Since there are three peristyles in the house, can they be differentiated according to the potential presence of guests? The upper peristyle has the highest presence availability; consequently, of the three, it is the likeliest for social encounters (both gatherings and occasions). The middle and lower peristyle are of moderately low presence availability, so the potential for interaction cannot be discounted completely. The lower peristyle is perhaps the one least likely for encounters. It is isolated: one must travel through the middle peristyle to reach it. Perhaps the peristyles were used differently depending on the type of user. Family members (especially women and children) may have used the lower peristyle, due to its limited accessibility, while the other peristyles were used for entertaining guests or other business. Again, it is possible the two inhabitants divided the peristyles, Lucius Secundus primarily using one, and Lucius Ampliatus another.

Of the domains, three of the seven contain graffiti. The only space in the house containing graffiti that was not a domain was the small space, room 32, located off the peristyle 17. Two of the three rooms that contained graffiti displayed high presence availability (the peristyle #17 and peristyle #35); the third was a room of moderately low presence availability (the *oecus* #19). In this house, then, graffiti tend to appear in domains. This indicates that areas of high control are more likely to contain graffiti.

Secondly, graffiti tend to appear in nodes of high presence availability. Similar patterns appear across the larger sample.

The distribution of graffiti in this house indicates that house size is not a predictor of graffiti concentrations. This house is the biggest of my sample (and one of the biggest in Pompeii) and yet it contains the third lowest quantity of graffiti. One might expect that the more available wall space for graffiti writing, the more graffiti messages there would be. Further, bigger houses may contain more inhabitant and visitors, which one would expect to translate to more graffiti messages. However, the graffiti are in just four locations among the 54 rooms of the house, and even in those rooms they are clustered. The interaction of the content of the graffiti with each other will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Limitations of the Convex Map Analysis Model

The convex map model and Grahame's approach to its analysis have several advantages and disadvantages. One disadvantage is the inability to add social or archaeological variables into the model. For example, while a particular peristyle could seem open and easy reachable, it may have been full of debris until the time of the eruption. There would be no way to characterize such irregularity within the model. The CMA has no way to account for features such as doors, curtains or other means which would block doorways and hence accessibility within the system -- or for variables such as room shape, which could affect the way in which a room was used.

Space syntax fails to account for other subjective variables that may explain room use or route choice. As a topological system, it ignores metrical distance. The distance required to walk across a huge peristyle to reach an *oecus* in the back may decrease the *oecus*' likelihood for use. Rooms that may seem easy to access on a topological map can become more distant when the metrical distances are added.

Furthermore, space syntax has no way to account for individual difference in the reception of space. It is impossible for any model to account for the infinite variation in the ways in which humans encounter and react to their environment. Nor does this method allay suspicions that individual preference and decision-making could account for the patterns it perceives as statistically significant.

Lastly, this model is missing a very important component present in many Pompeian houses before the eruption: upper floors. Since these are not preserved in any of the houses in my sample, I was unable to include them; yet, inevitably, their presence would drastically change the spatial experience within the home. Unfortunately, this is a problem that, without more archaeological evidence, cannot be rectified.

One of the advantages of this Convex Map Analysis model is its unbiased approach to the Pompeian house. Often, the archaeologist's view of a particular room within the house is skewed by the presumed room name. If a room is called a "*cubiculum*" in the archaeological record, it has been assumed to have the functions of a bedroom.[247] This approach is problematic in many respects, not least because excavators assigned room names to many rooms without any credible justification. Convex Map

[247] (Mau 1902)

Analysis decreases such bias by assigning to each room only a number as an identifier. Only after the analysis is completed are the numbers of the analysis matched up to their location on the map. This reduces the room-name bias present in many studies on Pompeian domestic space.

Analysis of the remaining buildings

V.1.18

Node	Ranking according to Control Value	Ranking according to Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior	Accessibility[248]	Number of graffiti
2	3	3	2	Low	44
10	4	1	3	Moderately low	10
17	2	2	4	High	0
21	1	4	6	Moderately high	0

Table 3.2: V.1.18 Domains

There are four domains within V.1.18: room 2 (the *atrium*), room 10 (the peristyle), room 17 (the back hallway) and room 21 (the kitchen with back entrance) (see **Figures 29 and 30**).[249] Of the domains, the one with highest presence availability was

[248] Space 2, the *atrium*, has low presence availability and therefore is a place for occasions such as the *salutatio*. Room 10, the peristyle, is a place for gatherings, which fits the transitory and loosely defined activities that occurred here. However, room 17, the hallway to the service areas of the house, would be a place for gatherings and occasions, if we followed Grahame's model. It is difficult to suppose that this narrow hallway would ever have been a place for formal assembly. Likewise, room 21, a kitchen/latrine with back entrance would hardly be suited to an assembly. This represents one of the biggest flaws with access analysis and the presence availability labels. They have no way to account for an area that may be connected to many others, and may be easily reached by other areas of the house, but is, in fact, not suitable for assembly or to account for visual attributes like dimensions or decoration, each significant factors in understanding the use of the room.

[249] As before, changing the root node of the graph to room 21 (the back entrance) did not change the presence availability of the spaces.

the back hallway (room 17), which contained no graffiti. Room 2 (the *atrium*) had the lowest presence availability, though it contained the highest concentration of graffiti. Rooms 10 and 21 had moderately low and moderately high presence availability, respectively. In addition to rooms 2 and 10, graffiti are also found in rooms 1, 4, 6, 12, 14, and 16.

The distribution of graffiti here does not resemble that in I.4.5. For one thing, there is no correspondence between presence availability and the occurrences of graffiti. Graffiti were found in seven of the 24 rooms of this house. Furthermore, the graffiti do not cluster within many of the rooms, except for the peristyle – where, despite ample wall space, nearly all the graffiti cluster on seven of the thirteen columns. This suggests a social proclivity towards writing on columns when possible. I suggest that this reflects the ambulatory nature of the peristyle. As I have already demonstrated, graffiti writers wrote graffiti in areas where others were likely to see it. The fact that so many graffiti are on these columns indicates that they must have been a feature frequently visited in the home, suggesting that people were going up to the columns and most likely moving around them. Many peristyles enclosed gardens that drew the eye and body inwards. This centripetal tendency highlights the columns rather than the outer walls. Furthermore, the columns are better lighted than the shaded walls (see Chapter Four). The graffiti on the columns interact with each other, a phenomenon that will be explored more in Chapter Five.

VII.12.35

Node	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior	Accessibility	Number of graffiti
1	6.2	.219	1		2
9	3.625	.43	2		0

Table 3.3: VII.12.35 Domains

Due to its unusual arrangement, VII.12.35 has only two nodes: the *atrium* and the back hallway (see **Figures 31 and 32**). It lacks many features of a typical *atrium*-peristyle house. There is no *fauces*; one enters from the front door into a large room onto which many smaller rooms connect. The unusual arrangement of rooms and the large proportion of graffiti induced excavators to suppose this was, in fact, an inn and not a private dwelling. The access data corroborate this hypothesis. Unlike the previously analyzed houses, which contain several domains and perhaps accommodated different activities within those domains, there is only one domain that contained activity here: the large central room onto which all the other rooms opened. Because the building only has two domains, it is impossible to rank them in any way or analyze them by activity.

Graffiti are found in several spaces in this building. There are two in room 1 (the *atrium*), nine in room 2 (a *cubiculum*), four in room 3 (a *cubiculum*), one in room 6 (a *cubiculum*), and 8 in room 7 (a *cubiculum*). The high presence of graffiti in these *cubicula* gives further credence to the hypothesis that this building was actually an inn. *Cubicula* were usually closed-off areas, but many guests would have seen the walls of the *cubicula* in this inn, which made them ideal space to serve as a "message board" for those

traveling through. These are graffiti in "private spaces" but very much meant for public consumption. Of the 40 graffiti found in *cubicula* in my sample, 18 are in this building alone.[250]

V.2.4

Node	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior	Accessibility	Number of graffiti
1	9	.59	2		4
13	2.5	1.01	4		24

Table 3.4: V.2.4 Domains

V.2.4 also contains only two nodes: room 1 (the *atrium*) and room 13 (the peristyle) (see **Figures 33** and **34**). The building is arranged in the typical *atrium*-peristyle plan although the addition of the kitchen to the left of the *atrium* is atypical. Further, the rooms on the right side of the *atrium* are quite small and numerous; their use is undetermined. Rooms 1 and 13 are clear domains in the building. Nine rooms open onto the *atrium* (room 1); many of them connect to no other space. The peristyle (room 13) has two rooms connected to it in the back of the house, which cannot be accessed in any other way.

In this building, as in many thus far, the graffiti concentrate in these two domains. Only one other graffito falls outside of these two domains (one graffito in room 15,

[250] House V.2.4, also identified as an inn, has no graffiti in the *cubicula*, further evidence that it was in fact domestic space.

commonly labeled a *triclinium*). The hierarchy of access cannot be analyzed with only two domains, but it is clear these two areas were the center of activity in the house. The *atrium*, with its low RRA value, was more accessible to other rooms inside the house (and likely guests), while the peristyle still remained a connected space.

The MRRA value of the space (as discussed above) aligns the house with VII.11.11, another space often labeled as an inn. However, the large peristyle and dual domains contradict this identification. Since access analysis alone provides no help in the identification of the building, we must turn to the graffiti. The pattern of the graffiti is more similar to those found in domestic space than those found in other spaces believed to be inns, like house VII.11.11 and VII.12.35, where graffiti tend to concentrate in the *atrium* and not in the (absent) peristyle. In this building (V.2.4), the graffiti concentrate in the peristyle more than the *atrium*. Further, graffiti in the inns also tend to concentrate in the *cubicula*, a pattern which is not repeated here. Della Corte hypothesized, based on the content of the graffiti, that this house was transformed, at least in the last stage of occupation, into a caupona.[251] Others disagree, including Sogliano.[252] I will analyze the content of the graffiti in Chapter Five. However, their distribution in peristyle and *atrium* suggests that this building remained a house.

[251] (Sampaolo 1991, 798)
[252] Ibid.

V.2.g

Node	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior	Accessibility	Number of graffiti
2	9.33	.22	2		8
15	2.83	.79	4		0

Table 3.5: V.2.g Domains

Similar to V.2.4, V.2.g has two nodes: room 2 (the *atrium*) and room 15 (the portico) (see **Figures 35** and **36**). Its plan is typical. The *atrium* has many small rooms opening on to it and a view from the *fauces* through the *tablinum*. However, instead of a typical peristyle this house has a porticoed area (room 15) that opens up to the garden. The view from the *fauces* cleverly leads through the *tablinum* to the garden area, obfuscating the house's smallness.

The majority of the graffiti in this house concentrate in the *atrium*. There are also graffiti in a small room off the *atrium*, typically termed a *cubiculum* (room 8), the *tablinum* (room 12), and a room on the west side of the *atrium* (room 10). However, unlike many buildings discussed earlier, there is no concentration of graffiti in the peristyle/portico area. I suggest this indicates a difference in the use of the space. This house does not have the covered walkway of many other peristyles that could facilitate walking, perhaps with guests. The absence of graffiti here suggests that it was used differently from the others.

This trend was also seen in Benefiel's study of the graffiti in the House of the Four Styles. [253] Many graffiti were found in the *atrium* but relatively few in the peristyle.[254] The house has a garden instead of a proper peristyle and it seems this space was reserved for utilitarian purposes.[255] Benefiel shows that graffiti were clustered in the *atrium* because the peristyle, due to its size and change of use, was not suitable for social gatherings.[256] This change of use affected the quantity and distribution of graffiti in the house.

I.6.4

Node	Ranking according to Control Value	Ranking according to Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior	Accessibility	Number of graffiti
2	1	1	2	High	0
12	2	2	4	Moderate	0

Table 3.6: I.6.4 Domains

I.6.4 has an atypical plan (see **Figures 37** and **38**). Its *atrium* opens to a *tablinum*, but like V.2.g, it does not contain a full peristyle, just a courtyard smaller than the *atrium*. Again, the view through the *fauces* cleverly leads through the *atrium* to the small peristyle/courtyard. The two domains in the house are room 2 (the *atrium*) and room 12 (the peristyle).

[253] (Benefiel 2011, 30)
[254] Ibid.
[255] Ibid.
[256] Ibid, 40.

The distribution of graffiti in this house is interesting. None are found in the peristyle, perhaps because the peristyle is atypical, without sufficient room for walking or visiting. Likewise, there are no graffiti in the *atrium*. All the graffiti found in the house are in room 16 (the *oecus*) and room 19, a small room, perhaps a service area (though it is highly decorated) or *cubiculum* connected to room 16.[257]

The *oecus* has a megalographic frieze with elephants in the second style and an elaborate mosaic. This room was originally part of the adjoining House of the Cryptoporticus,[258] and it is to this earlier phase that the painted frieze belongs.[259] The southern wall was decorated with coarse plaster, perhaps waiting to be repainted.[260] It is impossible, now, to determine when the graffiti were made. However, the House of the Cryptoporticus has many graffiti, including drawings. Given the dearth of graffiti in the rest of this house (House I.6.4), it is likely that this room was inscribed while still connected to the House of the Cryptoporticus. Already, the benefit of analysis of the distribution of graffiti is clear; anomalies such as this one must be examined more closely as they fail to fit the mold.

[257] Keegan errs in his description of the location of graffiti. (Keegan 2011 , 180) Many graffiti in both the oecus and *cubiculum* are extant. I have personally located in the summer of 2013.
[258] (Allison, Pompeian Households: An On-line Companion 2004)
[259] Ibid. The presence of storage vessels in the *atrium* with jewelry, scales, and storage vessels indicates the house was under occupation at the time of the eruption. (Allison 2004)
[260] (Allison, Pompeian Households: An On-line Companion 2004)

I.9.5

Node	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior	Accessibility	Number of graffiti
2	6	.57	2		0
18	4.83	.57	4		11

Table 3.7: I.9.5 Domains

The plan of I.9.5 is very similar to I.6.4 (see **Figures 39** and **40**). This house was constructed during the third or second century BC when the *insula* was divided into four nearly equal houses.[261] The *fauces* opens to an *atrium* to which are connected *cubicula* and an *ala*. The *fauces-atrium* viewshed opens through the *tablinum* and peristyle. The peristyle in this house is small but has columns and an ambulatory for walking. There are two domains in the house: room 2, the *atrium*, and room 18, the peristyle. Both domains are controlling spaces and connect to multiple spaces (8 for the *atrium*, 9 for the peristyle). The RRA values of the two spaces are the same.

The concentration in the peristyle is typical. Remarkably, there were ten graffiti on a single pilaster of the peristyle surrounding a mirror of black obsidian (see **Figures 41** and **42**).[262] Graffiti tend to cluster on peristyle columns, though there is only one on a peristyle column in this house. This pilaster with mirror proves to be the popular place for writing, rather than the columns. Further, the proliferation of graffiti in the peristyle indicates that although it was small, it functioned like other larger peristyles. Graffiti

[261] (De Vos 1990b, 1)
[262] The content of the graffiti will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

appear in several other spaces in the house. There are two graffiti in the *fauces*, one in the *cubiculum* connected to the *atrium*, three in the *ala*, and four in the *tablinum*.

V.4.a

Node	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior	Accessibility	Number of graffiti
5	6.5	.69	2		6
11	6.16	.66	4		8
21	4.16	.50	3		0

Table 3.8: V.4.a Domains

V.4.a has three domains: node 5 (the *atrium*), node 11 (the peristyle) and node 21 (the area between the peristyle and the *tablinum*). The house plan is a typical *atrium*-peristyle plan (see **Figures 43** and **44**). The *atrium* connects to seven rooms including several *cubicula* and *triclinia*. The peristyle is large and features a colonnade on the south side. Room 21 is an anomaly. This is an irregular space between the *tablinum* and peristyle, connecting the *tablinum* to the service areas of room 13, 14, and 15, the *ala* (room 12), and the peristyle proper (room 11). It is possible that although slightly disconnected, this space belongs to the peristyle as well. In that case, the house has two domains: room 5 and room 11.

The distribution in this house is typical, centered on domains 5 and 11 (the peristyle and *atrium*). However, graffiti also appear in room 1 (the *fauces*), room 3 (the storeroom), room 6 (the *tablinum*), room 7 (a *cubiculum*), room 8 (a *cubiculum*), room 15 (the latrine/kitchen), and room 22 (the back door). This spread of graffiti among so many

rooms (8 of 22) is unusually diverse. Rooms 7 and 8 both had doorways that could have closed off the rooms from visitors.

Furthermore, the presence of graffiti in the storeroom, latrine, and back door is atypical. All three areas contain drawings exclusively. Baldwin et al. postulated that the large number of drawings in the bath areas of the Villa San Marco were graffiti made by slaves waiting for their masters.[263] The greater quantity of graffiti found in this house may correspond with an increased servile presence or a greater tendency among the slaves towards graffiti writing.

VI.13.19

Node	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior	Accessibility	Number of graffiti
2	9.83 (1)	.33 (1)	2	High	2
13	2.08 (3)	.58 (2)	3	Moderately low	0
15	2.08 (3)	.647 (3)	4	Low	0
21	2.25 (2)	.647 (3)	4	Moderately high	0

Table 3.9: VI.13.19 Domains

VI.13.19 has four domains: room 2 (the *atrium*), room 13 (the hallway to the left of the *tablinum*), room 15 (the room between the *tablinum* and the peristyle), and room 21 (the back hallway) (see **Figures 45** and **46**). Besides the *atrium*, these rooms are

[263] (Baldwin, E., Moulden, H., and Laurence, R. 2013, 157)

atypical as domains. Both the front and back hallways have high control values as they connect the front of the house to the service quarters in the back of the house.[264] Room 15 connects the *tablinum* to the peristyle and room 19, which connects to room 11. The *atrium* has a very high control value, connecting to all the rooms in the front part of the house, many of which connect to no other space.

Few graffiti appear in these domains (2 in the *atrium*) because the domains are atypical. It is not common to find graffiti in hallways (none in my corpus), likely because hallways are meant for movement, not for waiting, which seems to have been a motivating desire behind much graffiti writing. Graffiti appear in other spaces in the house: three in room 1 (the *fauces*), five in room 10 (the *ala*), one in room 12 (the *tablinum*), one in room 14 (a *cubiculum*). There are no graffiti found in the peristyle, which is small, removed from the other spaces of the house, and without a suitable place for walking. This accounts for the dearth of graffiti; the space was not used as peristyles were in some of the other houses. This situation aligns well with houses I.6.4 and V.2.g, which also had small peristyles with no graffiti. Instead, graffiti in this house are centered in the front spaces, the likely areas of traffic and guests. The five graffiti clustered in the southern *ala* indicates that this was a place of high traffic and activity within the house (See Chapter Five).

[264] Again, the disadvantage of access analysis is clear. The back hallway is categorized as a place for occasions. It is unlikely a hallway would be a suitable area for large groups of people to gather for formal events.

VI.14.20

Node	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior	Accessibility	Number of graffiti
1	7.83 (1)	.569 (3)	2		0
16	3.16 (2)	.792 (2)	5		0
18	3.53 (3)	.537 (1)	4		18

Table 3.10: VI.14.20 Domains

VI.14.20 has three domains: room 1 (the *atrium*), room 16 (the area at the back of the peristyle), and room 18 (the peristyle) (see **Figures 47** and **48**). This house has a typical *atrium*-peristyle plan and features an expansive colonnaded peristyle. The domains are regular. As in V.4.a, room 16 may actually belong to the peristyle. If it is, in fact, better understood as an extension of the peristyle then there would be two domains.

As with many houses in this corpus, graffiti predominate on the columns of the peristyle, occupying five of the eight columns. The corner column of the north and west sides has eight graffiti inscribed on it. There are no graffiti in the *atrium*, a remarkable absence given the plethora of them in the peristyle. The other spaces that contain graffiti are room 10 (the *triclinium*) and room 13 (a *cubiculum*).

The presence of such a high number of graffiti in the peristyle and the absence of graffiti in the *atrium* is peculiar. This could indicate that the *atrium* in this house was not used as a place of activity as it was in other houses. Of the houses with graffiti concentrations in the peristyle (V.1.18, V.2.4, 1.4.25, V.4.a, VI.14.20, and I.9.5), about

half of them also have high concentrations in the *atrium* (V.1.18, V.2.4 and V.4.a). I suggest that the cause of lack of atrium graffiti in at least two of the houses (1.4.25 and VI.14.20) may be due to a functional distinction reflecting the social status of the owner (See Chapter Six).

I.9.13

Node	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior	Accessibility	Number of graffiti
2	7.33 (1)	.49 (3)	2		2
10	3.16 (2)	.64 (2)	4		0

Table 3.11: I.9.13 Domains

This house has two domains: room 2 (the *atrium*) and room 10 (the room in front of the peristyle) (see **Figures 49** and **50**). The *atrium* is a controlling space and connects to nine other spaces. Room 10 is an area in front of the peristyle that connects the *tablinum* and room 9 to the peristyle and the back entrance of the house. This area, like similar spaces in houses V.4.a and VI.14.20, may be better construed as a part of the peristyle. This house has a typical *atrium*-peristyle plan. The peristyle is grand and colonnaded. The house is on a steep incline so it required steps to reach the back door and northern part of the peristyle. The *porticus* was redecorated after the earthquake of AD 62[265] so the graffiti must date after that time.

[265] (de Vos 1990c, 175)

Two graffiti are in room 2 (the *atrium*), three in room 1 (the *fauces*), one in room 8 (a *cubiculum*), two in room 15 (the peristyle), and one in room 16 (a service area near the backdoor). This distribution is regular, with high concentrations (albeit of low statistical significance) in the *atrium* and the peristyle.

VII.11.11

Node	Control Value	Real Relative Asymmetry	Depth from Exterior	Accessibility	Number of graffiti
1	2.75 (2)	.88 (3)	2	Moderate	0
5	2.75 (2)	.72 (1)	3	High	0
8	8.5 (1)	.77 (2)	2	High	11
18	2.5 (3)	1.55 (4)	4	Low	0

Table 3.12: VII.11.11 Domains

VII.11.11 has a very unusual plan (see **Figures 51** and **52**), with entrances at both VII.11.11 and VII.11.14. The one at VII.11.11 opens onto a small *atrium* (8), to which are attached several *cubicula* and a kitchen. It leads to a large room, perhaps a *tablinum*, and then connects to the hallway (room 5). The entry at VII.11.14 connects to two hallways (rooms 1 and 5) and leads through three garden rooms (rooms 17, 18 and 20). The gardens, especially room 20, are massive and make up more area than the rest of the house of combined. This house does not have the *fauces*-*atrium*-peristyle viewshed common in houses in Pompeii. The *tablinum* is either absent, or, if it is room 7, different in location from the norm. Likewise, the garden rooms are atypical. One must travel

through rooms 17 and 18 to reach the largest room (room 20). It is unclear if this room functioned like a typical peristyle or if it was more like a service garden.

The four domains of the house are the *atrium* (8), two hallways (1 and 5), and the garden room (18). These domains show the atypical layout of the house. The areas with the highest presence availability are the hallways, that with the lowest the garden. I suggest that this indicates that the gardens were used in anomalous way, since their access analysis value contrasts sharply with many of the other domestic spaces already analyzed.

On the basis of its layout and the content of the graffiti found in the *atrium*, this house has been identified as a *hospitium*, built during the last phase of the city.[266] According to Sampaolo, it was equipped with space for fifty beds and areas for vegetable gardens.[267] The house is nearly across the street from the lupanar (VII.12.19) located off the Vicolo del Balcone Pensile. Travelers visiting the brothel could make use of this inn or vice versa.

Graffiti are found in several areas of the house: there are four in room 7 (the *tablinum*), eleven in room 8 (the *atrium*), three in room 11 (the kitchen), four in room 12 (a cubiculum) and five in room 16 (the *fauces* of VII.11.11). There are no graffiti found in the *viridarium*/peristyle, indicating a variation in social behavior. If this house was in fact an inn, and the *viridarium* was used primarily as a vegetable garden, this would account for the change in graffiti distribution. Some graffiti appear in one of the *cubicula*

[266] (Sampaolo 1997, 463)
[267] Ibid.

adjoining the *atrium*, again aligning this house with the inn VII.12.35. It is possible there were *cubicula* on a second floor as well (see Chapter Six). Therefore, the access analysis and the distribution of graffiti indicate that this building was used primarily as an inn and not as domestic space.

3.5 Convex Map Analysis Conclusion

First, this analysis has shown that graffiti tend to appear in areas of high control and accessibility in the house, typically the domains. This typically corresponds to the *atrium* and peristyle of private houses.[268] The *atrium* and peristyle correspond to the public areas identified by Vitruvius; thus, it is likely that these were areas frequented by guests and visitors to the house. Second, there is a positive correlation between a space being a domain (a highly controlling space) and the number of graffiti in the space. This indicates that graffiti writers tended to write in the most connected areas of the house.

While graffiti occur most often in public spaces like the *atrium* and peristyle, they are also found in private spaces like the *cubicula*. However, of the 32 graffiti in *cubicula*, 24 are in *hospitia*. Although the graffiti in these *cubicula* are in rooms typically considered private, their purpose was for public consumption, since the bedrooms were among the most frequented areas of an inn. These graffiti will be treated on an individual basis in Chapter Six. The overall trend of graffiti writing in domains shows that graffiti

[268] See also (Benefiel 2011)

were meant to be seen. They are found in areas that are easily visible and connected to many other spaces.

Their visibility and the controlled nature of their location differentiate ancient graffiti from modern. Modern graffiti are often located in well-connected spaces (bridges, subway cars, etc.) but are not produced under surveillance. The ancient graffiti, by contrast, show a predilection towards areas of control that are easily surveyed from within the house. The content of the graffiti, too, often the presumed names of the writers and addressors, indicates that the writers felt no uneasiness in revealing their identity.

There seems to be some correlation between the size of the peristyle, along with the presence of walking areas, and the number of graffiti. Peristyles that allow for ambulation contain higher densities of graffiti, while atypical peristyles or peristyles without colonnaded walking areas contain fewer graffiti (like houses I.6.4, VI.13.19, VII.11.11, and VII.12.35).

One of the most popular locations for graffiti writing is columns of the peristyle. These columns delineated the walking path of the peristyle and proved suitable for graffiti writing. Evidently, the curve of the columns did not deter writers from inscribing messages. Perhaps the easy visibility of the columns to those passing by encouraged writing. As Benefiel has already suggested, they seem to have served as message boards and as a location for dialogue between the writers.

One benefit of this analysis is the understanding of a "typical" graffiti distribution. From this normal distribution, it is possible to determine houses that differ

from the norm and attempt to explain some of these differences. Buildings VII.12.35 and VII.11.11 have irregular graffiti distributions, probably because they were both inns. The analysis of the space syntax corroborates such an identification. They differ markedly from the analysis of the remaining houses.

Correlation Calculations[269]

Overall, there is a strong correlation between certain measurements within access analysis and concentrations of graffiti (see **Figure 53**). A strong positive correlation exists between "connectivity" and the number of graffiti (r = .410). This suggests that graffiti are most likely to be written in areas of the house connected to other rooms within the house. A moderate correlation exists between the control value of the space and the number of graffiti it contained (r = .396). This indicates that graffiti are more likely to be written in spaces that are dominant over other spaces.

This correlation is very important. It has been suggested that ancient graffiti, like their modern counterpart, were illicit or disapproved of in the Roman house.[270] If this were the case, we would expect to see a high correlation of graffiti in "controlled" spaces (where one was unlikely to be seen), not controlling ones. Because graffiti appear in

[269] The number of graffiti was transformed into a logarithmic scale, following Baldwin et al. 2013, in order to create normality in the data. The data was translated with the constant 1 and then the log was taken. For this dissertation I have used the following measurements of statistical significance of correlation: r = >.70 (very strong), .40-.70 (strong), .30-.39 (moderate), .20-.29 (weak), .01-.19 (no relationship)

[270] Just one example on the graffiti of Crescens: "His graffiti suggest that his bout of *vandalism* was fueled by wine, presumably drunk during a convivium in this very dining room . . . Perhaps this *vandal* was inspired by the frescoed words on the adjacent panel." (Roller 75, emphasis my own).

spaces that dominate the house and serve as nodes of surveillance, their production seems not to have been regarded as acts of defacement or subversion.

Another way to gauge the correlation between access analysis values and graffiti presence is by means of a new model I have developed. In this model, the control value and (1-RRA) value are summed. The RRA value must be subtracted from 1 since low RRA values indicate high accessibility. High values in this model indicate spaces of high control and high accessibility; low values indicate low control and low accessibility. This value has a moderate/strong correlation with the number of graffiti (r= .397), signifying that spaces that are highly controlling as well as highly accessible tend to have a greater concentration of graffiti. This corresponds well to the preponderance of graffiti in the *atrium* and peristyle.

There is a weak negative correlation between mean depth and the number of graffiti in a space (r= -.285), indicating a slight tendency for graffiti to be written in spaces closer to the entry of the house (greater mean depth indicates spaces removed from the entry of the house). This is consistent with the prominence of graffiti in the *atrium* and the rooms connected to the *atrium*.

3.6 Visual Graph Analysis

Visual graph analysis was accomplished using Depthmap software. The categories of analysis have already been discussed. Visual data is more difficult to analyze than convex map data because it is created for every point in the map, not just for

each room. This makes correlating the information with the graffiti in the room very difficult. In order to solve this problem, I imported values from the VGA map to the convex map, which allows the data to be averaged for each room and then compared with the number of graffiti in each room. Therefore, the following visual measurements reflect not the exact location where graffiti were found, but the average visual measurements of the room in which they were located.

Visual control measures compared to number of graffiti (entire corpus)

Data correlation with log (number of graffiti)	Visual control	Visual controllability	Visual integration	Visual mean depth
	r=.22	r=.24	r=.23	r= -.22

Table 3.13: Visual Control Measure Correlations

As is clear from the chart, the correlations between the visual measures and the number of graffiti are weak. However, individual analyses of the houses vary significantly. There is a weak negative correlation between the visual mean depth and the number of graffiti, which indicates that graffiti tend to appear in areas that require fewer turns and a shorter line of sight to other areas. A slight correlation exists between visual control and the number of graffiti. This shows that the degree to which an area visually looks on to other areas is a slight indicator that a higher number of graffiti is likely to be found in that space.

There is, likewise, a slight correlation between the number of graffiti and visual controllability. This shows that areas that are observed by several other areas had a

slightly higher chance of containing graffiti. Finally, there is a weak correlation with visual integration and the number of graffiti. Visual integration is the same as standardized mean depth, so the expected values should be similar. However, as I shall demonstrate in the following section, the visual control measure correlations for the overall dataset vary widely and may indicate changing patterns of social intercourse or behavior.

3.7 Visual Graph Analysis Data of Selected Houses

V.1.18

This house was analyzed both with all the doors of the house open and with known doors closed.[271] Doors were added in front of room 4 and 16, on the south and north side of room 8, and on the north side of rooms 7 and 9. These doors closed off the two *cubicula* (rooms 4 and 16) and effectively closed off the front of the house (the *atrium*, all rooms connected to it, and the *tablinum*) from the back of the house (the peristyle, *oeci*, and service areas). This type of conditional analysis has not been previously applied to access analysis and will allow for an enhanced understanding of the data. These doors were identified through personal observation of the thresholds at the site. The closed doors are shown on **Figure 54** with red circles. It is impossible to judge at what point in the day the doors would be open, or if all would be closed or open at one

[271] Doors were located through identification of holes in the threshold through personal observation at the site (summer 2013).

time. However, this model allows us to see how doors affect the visibility of graffiti in the house.

Measurement correlated with log (number of graffiti)	V.1.18- doors open	V.1.18- doors closed
Visual Control	r=.48	r=.25
Visual Controllability	r=.57	r=.59
Visual Integration		
Visual Mean Depth	r= -.39	r= -.26

Table 3.14: Visual Graph Analysis V.1.18

This table shows the correlations between the visual measures and the number of graffiti in the house. The log of the number of graffiti was used in order to normalize the data. There is no value for visual integration because of a problem with the Depthmap software; the program gets confused when the doors are closed and it is asked to complete the visual graph analysis. Instead of analyzing the spaces beyond the doors, it only analyzes the closed-off rooms, highly skewing the data. For that reason, I have omitted that variable in the data above.

This data shows the significant impact caused when the analysis is completed with the doors open and the known doors closed. There is a strong correlation between visual control and the number of graffiti (r=.48) (see **Figure 55**). This correlation decreases significantly when the doors are closed (r=.25) (see **Figure 56**). Because several rooms have a value of zero for control when the doors are closed, the correlation greatly decreases. This shows that graffiti seem to be more concentrated in controlling

areas if the doors are all open, but when known doors are closed the level to which graffiti appear to concentrate in controlling rooms becomes less.

There is a strong correlation between visual controllability and the number of graffiti (r=.57 doors open and .59 doors closed) (see **Figures 57** and **58**). This indicates that the more visually dominated a space is the more likely it is to have a greater concentration of graffiti. It is important to remember that a space can be both controlling and controllable; the two are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, the two spaces most visually dominated, or looked into by other spaces in the house, are the *atrium* and the peristyle, which are often the most visually controlling spaces as well. Further, the correlation of the visual measures and the number of graffiti in the space further emphasizes that graffiti were not illicit or taboo.

The visual mean depth, the mean shortest distance (fewest turns) from each node to every other node, had a negative correlation with the number of graffiti (r= -.39 doors open, r= -.26 doors closed) (see **Figures 59** and **60**). This shows that graffiti are more likely to be written in spaces easily reached from other spaces within the same system. However, this correlation is reduced slightly when the doors are shut in the house.

I.9.5

Visual Control correlated with log # of graffiti	Visual Controllability correlated with log # of graffiti	Visual Integration correlated with log # of graffiti	Visual Mean Depth correlated with log # of graffiti
r=.39	r=.46	r=.49	r= -.44

Table 3.15: Visual Graph Analysis I.9.5

The only thresholds in this house close off rooms 11 and 12. As these rooms did not contain graffiti, it was not necessary to analyze this house with doors open and closed. The results of the correlation of graffiti and the visual measures are all strong correlations. In this house, graffiti are more likely to be found in rooms of high visual control, controllability, and integration (see **Figures 61-64**). Graffiti are more likely to be found in rooms easily reached by other rooms (and therefore containing a low visual mean depth value).

The results of the visual measurements of this house align well with the results of the convex map analysis. Graffiti are found in areas that view *and* are viewed by other rooms and in the most visible areas of the house. Furthermore, they are found in easily reached areas.

VII.11.11

Visual Control correlated with log # of graffiti	Visual Controllability correlated with log # of graffiti	Visual Integration correlated with log # of graffiti	Visual Mean Depth correlated with log # of graffiti
r=.32	r=.36	r=.43	r= -.28

Table 3.16: Visual Graph Analysis VII.11.11

There are no extant thresholds with hinge cavities in this building so analysis was completed only with all doors open. This building was chosen for comparison because it is frequently identified as an inn. The visual measurement correlations are comparable (though less strong) than in houses I.9.5 and V.1.18 (see **Figures 65-68**). The reduced

correlation (as compared with securely identified domestic spaces) suggests a change in the pattern of use. This gives further strength to the suggestion that this space was an inn.

VII.12.35

Visual Control correlated with log # of graffiti	Visual Controllability correlated with log # of graffiti	Visual Integration correlated with log # of graffiti	Visual Mean Depth correlated with log # of graffiti
r=.25	r=.27	r= -.26	r=.19

Table 3.17: Visual Graph Analysis VII.12.35

The results for VII.12.35, another supposed inn, are similar to those for VII.11.11. Their visual control and controllability both have weak correlations, lower than those for buildings securely identified as domestic spaces (see **Figures 69-72**). The visual integration has a weak negative correlation with the number of graffiti. This indicates that graffiti are less likely to be found in easily accessed areas in this building. This result aligns well with the identification of this building as an inn. Accessibility is not a desired quality in an inn, as guest rooms are unconnected with each other. Mean depth has a weak positive correlation with the number of graffiti, indicating that areas removed from other areas are more likely to contain graffiti. Both this measurement and the negative integration measurement indicate that graffiti were written in difficult-to-reach places in the building, likely in guest rooms, which were relatively inaccessible from each other.

V.2.4

Visual Control correlated with log # of graffiti	Visual Controllability correlated with log # of graffiti	Visual Integration correlated with log # of graffiti	Visual Mean Depth correlated with log # of graffiti
r=.64	r=.63	r=.63	r=-.60

Table 3.18: Visual Graph Analysis V.2.4

No thresholds with hinge cavities have been identified in this house. It was chosen as a comparison for house VII.11.11, as excavators have also identified it as an inn. However, unlike house VII.11.11, in which the visual measures were weaker than those of the other houses, the measurements of house V.2.4 were stronger (see **Figures 73-76**). These results show a strong/very strong correlation between visual control, controllability, and integration with the number of graffiti. Furthermore, there is a strong negative correlation between mean depth and the number of graffiti, indicating that graffiti are most often found in easily accessed locations.

The results for VII.12.35 and V.2.4 are very different. Thus, house V.2.4 was probably a house and not an inn, as the visual measurements align more closely to domestic space.

I.6.4

Measurement correlated with log(number of graffiti)	I.6.4- doors open	I.6.4- doors closed
Visual Control	r=.21	r=.19
Visual Controllability	r=.05	r= -.09
Visual Integration		
Visual Mean Depth	r=.29	r=.24

Table 3.19: Visual Graph Analysis I.6.4

I chose this house as an example because its graffiti, atypically, are found in only two rooms (18 and 19). Therefore, the correlation measurements are very different from those for the other domestic spaces (see **Figures 77-80**). I believe the graffiti in this room do not belong to this house but were written when the room was still joined to the House of the Cryptoporticus. Doors were added to close off rooms 7 and 9 as well as in in the north side of room 11, closing off the front of the house (the *atrium* and rooms connected to it) from the back (the peristyles and its connecting rooms) (see **Figures 81-83**).

There is only a slight correlation between visual control and the number of graffiti (r =.21), which was lessened when the doors were closed (r=.19). Almost no correlation exists between controllability and the number of graffiti. This effect was heightened when the doors were closed, but the correlation is still not significant. The results therefore contravene the trend established by the other domestic spaces, but only because

the graffiti are found in a room with an unusual history, which, due to its seclusion from other rooms of the house, has a low control value. The correlation between the visual mean depth and the number of graffiti differs from the values from the other houses. In house I.6.4, the more difficult a space is to reach (and thus its greater mean depth), the more likely it is to have graffiti.

3.8 Conclusion

These examples show that the visual measurements conducted through visual graph analysis align well with the results of the convex map analysis. As a whole, graffiti are more likely to be found in areas of high visual control and controllability, areas that both visually dominate and are visually dominated by other areas—in short, the most obvious and public areas in the house. The people who wrote graffiti in ancient Pompeii wanted them to be seen. This impulse reflects the dialogic nature of graffiti in ancient Pompeii.[272] They were not static, unidirectional messages, but rather visible, dynamic communication.

The convex map analysis indicated they were written in public, *physically* accessible areas. The visual graph analysis showed they were written in *visible* locations in order to be seen by others. Furthermore, graffiti are found in areas of low mean depth, indicating that they are concentrated in areas easily reached from other areas in the house.

[272] See Benefiel 2010a, 2011.

However, the visual graph analysis also shows the variation that occurs in the visual measurements between houses. The results for house I.6.4 were markedly different from those for houses I.9.5 and V.1.18. This is due to the irregular distribution of graffiti and gives further credence to my hypothesis that the graffiti in this house were not written when the *oecus* was part of the house. It is for this reason that the visual measurements of the entire corpus need to be complemented by measurements of individual houses.

Lastly, this analysis has shown the slight discrepancy in the visual correlations between the houses thought to be inns and other domestic spaces. The houses that have been identified as inns (VII.12.35 and VII.11.11) both contained weaker visual correlations. House V.2.4, which has traditionally been identified as an inn, did not fit this pattern, suggesting it was not an inn but rather a domestic space.

3.9 Agent Analysis

I have discussed the results of both convex map and visual graph analyses. In this section, I will discuss a third type of space syntax analysis called Agent Analysis, in which "agents" or automata are released in the map.[273] Their routes are traced and represented as raster data. Agent analysis is an important complement to the convex and visual analyses because it implies adaptive behavior, modified to the environment.[274]

[273] (Turner 2004, 2)
[274] (Al Sayed, K., Turner, A. 2012)

This model was created in order to illustrate decision-making and navigation in the built environment.[275] Importantly, these maps have been found to correlate well with actual pedestrian movements inside buildings.[276] The values of the agent analysis were then imported onto the convex map for comparison with the number of graffiti. In my analysis, I used 50 agents and started them from the *fauces* of the house. I selected both *fauces* in houses like I.4.5 in which there are two entrances.

Parameters of Agent Analysis

Agent analysis is completed using several set parameters that affect the way in which the agents navigate the environment.

Field of view (bins): Field of view indicates the area an agent can see while moving in a certain direction. I have set this at 15 bins (170°), which has been proven most effective for replicating human movement patterns.[277]

Steps before turning: This parameter shows the number of steps the agent will take in a certain direction before turning. In my analysis, I use 3, which has been found to correlate well with natural movement patterns.[278]

[275] (Al Sayed, K., Turner, A. 2012)
[276] Ibid.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Ibid.

Timesteps in system: This parameter sets the number of steps the agents will complete in the system. In my analysis, I use 1000 steps. I have found this produces sufficient coverage in the system, while still leaving areas empty of pedestrian movement.

The following graph shows the correlation between the agent analysis and the log number of graffiti in that house. Using the parameters above, I unleashed 50 automata into the house. Their movements were recorded for each house and then compared with the number of graffiti. Houses for which I identified thresholds were analyzed with all possible doors opened and then closed.

Agent analysis correlated with log number of graffiti	Doors open	Doors closed
Overall	r = 0.31	r = 0.36
V.1.18	r = 0.51	r = 0.66
I.9.5	r = 0.54	X
VII.11.11	r = 0.67	X
VII.12.35	r = 0.56	X
V.2.4	r = 0.38	X
I.6.4	r = - .18	r = - .23

Table 3.20: Agent Analysis Correlations

High traffic in an area results in a high agent analysis value for that grid space. These values were then averaged for each room of the house and imported onto the convex map. The averaged value for the house was then compared with the number of graffiti. The overall correlation result shows that there is a moderate correlation between the traffic pattern of the agents and the number of graffiti. In essence, on average, high frequency of agent paths in a space corresponds to a higher quantity of graffiti. Individual house results, however, change the picture significantly.

V.1.18

There is a strong correlation between the agent paths and the number of graffiti. This correlation increases when the doors in the house are closed (see **Figures 84** and **85**). I completed this analysis characterizing the *impluvium* and parapet walls as barriers. As these objects would obstruct walking, it is important to complete agent analysis with these barriers in place (see **Figures 86** and **87**). It is easy to see, visually, that the map that most closely corresponds to the graffiti correlation is the one with the *impluvium* and parapet walls. Importantly, these maps do not explain the location of all the graffiti in the house; those in several rooms are located off the walking paths. However, the agent analysis does account for most of them. In this house, the graffiti are, in general, located in areas of high pedestrian traffic.

I.9.5

House I.9.5 has a strong correlation between the number of graffiti and the agent paths (see **Figure 88**). A second graph (see **Figure 89**) shows the agent analysis with the *impluvium* and parapet walls of the peristyle added in. The results are not as clear as with house V.1.18, but obviously the addition of the parapet walls better explains the graffiti on the east side of the peristyle.

VII.11.11

There is a strong correlation between the number of graffiti and the agent paths in this building as well (see **Figure 90**). The graffiti in this house are focused in the *fauces, atrium, tablinum* and a *cubiculum,* none of which had extant doors prohibiting access. The addition of the *impluvium* does not change the results appreciably (see **Figure 91**). Both figures show the high concentration of activity in the *atrium,* which corresponds to the number of graffiti found there. The peristyle was a place of secondary importance.

VII.12.35

Likewise, there was a strong correlation between the agent analysis and the number of graffiti in this building (see **Figure 92**). There was no *impluvium* so no second map was needed.

V.2.4

The correlation of graffiti and the agent analysis was considerably less strong in house V.2.4 (see **Figures 93** and **94**). This is because the agents tended to stay in the *atrium* and did not venture to the peristyle beyond, where many of the graffiti are located. While many of these graffiti were visible from the *atrium* due to the large window in the *tablinum*, they were not easily reached except through the narrow hallway to the right of the *tablinum*. This may indicate that, in this house, the peristyle was a place entered by invitation only, rather than freely accessible to all. The difference in the agent analysis of this house potentially shows a difference in use patterns.

I.6.4

I.6.4 has a weak negative correlation between the number of graffiti and the agent paths (see **Figures 95-97**). In this house, graffiti are not found in areas often traveled by the agents. This is because of the atypical graffiti distribution of this house in which all the graffiti are found in inaccessible back rooms. To this anomaly I attribute the same unusual circumstances as in my other analyses of House I.6.4: the graffiti in the back rooms were written when they belonged to a completely different configuration in the House of the Cryptoporticus.

3.10 Conclusion

Agent analysis has given further support to many of the conclusions drawn from visual and convex map analysis. Overall, the density of agent paths correlates spatially with the frequency of graffiti in the houses of my corpus. This shows that graffiti are more often found in areas of high pedestrian traffic. This traffic could come from visitors to the house as well as inhabitants. Further, the maps that correlate best with graffiti distributions are those that include the *impluvium* and parapet walls, barriers that prohibit movement. These maps give the most realistic picture of movement within the house and correlate the best with graffiti distributions.

However, a certain caveat about this analysis must be made. The only doors "closed" in this analysis were doors I was able to locate on site. It is quite possible that many more doors existed. For example, House VII.12.35, commonly believed to have been an inn, has multiple *cubicula* surrounding the *atrium*. If these *cubicula* were guests rooms, they would have had doors (or at least curtains), which would have dramatically shifted the access analysis. However, lacking physical evidence of either, I chose to complete this analysis with only known doors closed.

The results of the individual houses vary. Many had strong correlations between the number of graffiti and the agent paths. Two did not: V.2.4 and I.6.4. In house V.2.4, the narrowness of the hallway constricted most activity to the *atrium*, which contained few graffiti. In house I.6.4, agent paths did not correspond to the location where most graffiti in the house were found, in an *oecus* found in the back of the house. This result

gives further credence to the suggestion that the graffiti of this room do not belong to this house. Overall, the various forms of analysis undertaken in this chapter have shown that graffiti in Pompeii are written in areas of high traffic within the buildings.

3.11 Chapter Conclusion

The preceding analyses (quantitative, convex map, visual map, and agent) have proved useful in understanding the distribution of graffiti in the houses of Pompeii by characterizing a "typical" model of graffiti distribution within the house, while various controls on these methods have allowed me to propose reasons why some houses fail to fit the model. I have identified several trends concerning the location of graffiti in the spaces of my corpus through these analyses. First, the most popular locations for graffiti in the houses of my corpus are the peristyle and the *atrium*, among the most public areas of the house. Houses that lack graffiti in these spaces often deviate in other ways from typical Pompeian domestic dwellings. Furthermore, the proliferation of graffiti in the peristyle (especially clustered on columns) shows the public nature of the space. The idea of the private, by-invitation-only peristyle has to be abandoned.

The third most popular location for graffiti was *cubicula* or other small areas in the house; however, most of these graffiti were in *hospitia*. While a room's intended function may be private (as one would expect of a *cubiculum*), in the context of an inn the space acquires a much more public character. A few graffiti were found in the *cubicula* of private houses (these will be discussed individually); thus, while writing graffiti was

overwhelmingly a public activity, it was, on some occasions, a private one as well, occurring in spaces that tend to have thresholds and could be locked with a door.

The most common type of graffito found in my sample was male names, reflecting the tendency of men to move around the city and visit houses. Further, it shows one purpose of graffiti writing in domestic spaces: using the walls as a message board to communicate with others in the city and provide proof of one's existence. The second most common type of graffiti was numerals, which shows another use of the wall plaster in these houses: as scratch paper. The walls were used as a place to count and record items or people -- especially in house V.1.8, where 43 numeral graffiti were found in the *atrium*. These numerals, perhaps more than other types of graffiti, were probably written by inhabitants of the house since it would seem that using the wall as scratch paper in a place one would not see often would be impractical. The third most common type of graffito was drawings, which may be underrepresented in the total, as *CIL* editors often did not record them.

This analysis has also revealed specific features of the locations where graffiti are more likely to be found. Graffiti tend to appear in highly connected spaces, which in the Pompeian house are often the *atrium* and the peristyle. Further, they are more likely to appear in areas that "control" other areas, i.e. spaces that connect to spaces that in turn do not connect to other areas. In other words, they tend to appear in well-integrated spaces that are easily accessible from other areas of the house. Ancient graffiti are similar in this respect to much modern graffiti, which also tend to be in very public locations, but are

produced much more secretively.[279] Thus, modern graffiti are produced because the spaces are not under supervision. Ancient graffiti were likewise also produced in public spaces, but those spaces were under constant surveillance. As with modern graffiti, the author of the graffito is often identified, at least by one name, but unlike the modern graffitist, the person writing it was probably observed doing so.

Analysis of possible pedestrian paths corroborated these results. Agent analysis has shown that graffiti tend to concentrate in areas of high traffic. These do not have to be areas of high visibility, but they must be easily traversed through the house plan. Such areas are often the most visible and connected areas of the house as well.

One of the most important benefits of these analyses has been the emergence of a normative model of graffiti distributions. As discussed above, graffiti tend to concentrate in areas of high visibility, control, controllability, and traffic. Distributions that do not fit this pattern may indicate variability in social behavior or use of space, which sometimes can be detected by other means. Against a model of a "typical" graffiti distribution, several houses stood out as interesting anomalies. In one case, House I.6.4, the space was not originally joined to the house when the graffiti were written; in two cases, buildings VII.11.11 and VII.12.35, the buildings are actually *hospitia*. Conversely, V.2.4 often identified as an inn, can plausibly be reclassified as a place of domestic habitation precisely because it *did* fit the normative model of graffiti distribution and access analysis.

[279] (Ley, D. and Cybriwsky, R. 1974) (Adams K., and Winter, A. 1997)

In sum, this study has shown that graffiti were written in highly visible, controlled, and controlling areas of high pedestrian traffic. The results are important in defining our understanding of the phenomenon of ancient graffiti writing. The Pompeians who wrote these inscriptions wrote them in areas of high surveillance and areas that were accessible by members of the household as well as the visitors. Why they did so will become clearer in the ensuing chapters, where I will examine the content of the graffiti themselves.

Chapter Four

The aesthetics of graffiti and the particular nature of graffiti as written texts deserve special attention. In the previous chapters of this dissertation, I have treated graffiti mostly as artifacts, paying special attention to their "findspots" (i.e. their location on a wall) with little regard to the particular context of their location (i.e. characteristics of the wall on which they were written). In the next chapter, I treat graffiti mostly as texts, especially focusing on how the texts interact with those around them and reflect their environment. In this chapter, I take a closer look at the formal qualities of graffiti. I am interested in examining their physical characteristics including the script style as well as characteristics of the places they were written, including lighting conditions and the color of wall plaster.

This type of information has been almost completely ignored in scholarship of graffiti.[280] Yet, the study of characteristics such as the style and lighting conditions, besides being important for the study of the genre itself and the motives of individual graffiti writers, can also inform our understanding of the visibility of the graffiti. In the previous chapter, I showed that graffiti tend to be located in the most visually "controlling" and "controlled" locations. However, exactly how *visible* those graffiti were is subject to a multitude of other factors. To understand the locations of graffiti and the reasons for writing in these locations, it is essential that we also understand some of the qualitative aspects that made these locations desirable.

[280] Notable exceptions are Benefiel 2010a and 2011. She pays special attention to the lighting conditions of the spaces in her study.

4.1 Graffiti and Wall Plaster

One essential aspect of the genre of graffiti is their location on wall plaster, which covered nearly every surface in the Pompeian house. It ranged from rich cinnabar reds to bright white. Even the street façades were decorated in red and white plaster; color was everywhere in the Pompeian view-scape. Likewise, graffiti appear on a range of wall plaster colors, depending on the exact wall on which they were written. This section will also focus on specific qualities of the wall plaster that affected the visibility of graffiti. Graffiti are, in general, not readily visible today due to weathering and poor preservation. However, this situation may have been vastly different in antiquity. We must frame our knowledge of the visibility of these graffiti by an understanding of the surface on which they were written.

The *CIL* is rather uneven in its documentation of the plaster color of the walls that contained graffiti. *CIL* Pars I and III rarely include this information. Of graffiti in my corpus described by the *CIL* authors (in any pars) or still *in situ*, 35 were on red plaster, 32 on white, 13 on black and 12 on yellow plaster. This breakdown may roughly reflect the general distribution of plaster colors within the site.[281] Red and white are common colors overall, especially on peristyle columns, where many of the graffiti in my corpus appear. Black and yellow are also prominent at Pompeii, but to a lesser degree. From this brief analysis, it appears that there is no preference towards writing on a specific

[281] It would be interesting to see whether these conclusions are statistically significant but this may be impossible since exact percentages of colored plaster within the site (or even within any given house) is unavailable.

color of wall plaster. Rather, graffiti appear on various wall colors and in quantities roughly proportionate to the overall prominence of each color at the site.

4.2 Graffiti and Wall Painting

It has been remarked that, in general, ancient graffiti respect the wall paintings adorning the walls on which they were written.[282] I turn my attention to the graffiti in my corpus to examine whether this tendency holds true for those in my study. Because the *CIL*, in general, does not specify the relative positions of wall paintings and the graffiti, I am only able to examine material that is extant or photographically documented. The proportion of extant graffiti in my corpus is relatively small (12.7%).[283] This figure, however, is larger than other estimates of extant graffiti, probably due to the excellent preservation of many houses in this corpus. Of the extant graffiti, nearly half were located on undecorated walls or columns and thus did not interact with nearby wall paintings.

The size of the graffiti is important for understanding the interaction with the wall paintings, as large graffiti would perhaps detract from the overall view of the art. However, for the most part, graffiti in my sample are rather small. The average width of

[282] Chiefly Benefiel 2010a and 2011: "Such presentation suggests that defacement did not motivate those who wrote here. There is no canceling out of elements or an attempt to own the wall; indeed, these graffiti hardly aim to attract an observer's attention at all" (Benefiel 2010a, 114).
[283] See **Figure 15** for a map of graffiti I was able to locate.

the graffiti is 15.06 cm; median is 12.05 cm.[284] The average height is 6.06 cm; the median is 4.05 cm. The average height from the ground is 140.58 cm; the median is 145.5 cm.

The best examples for looking at the interaction between wall paintings and the graffiti are those in House I.6.4, the Casa del Sacello Iliaco. The splendid megalographic frieze in a rear *oecus* compelled archaeologists to provide conservation measures including a complete roof over the space. This conservation has proved successful; the frieze and nearly all the graffiti recorded in the room survive today.

Figure 98 shows the positions of the graffiti found on the east wall of this room. **Figures 99-103** are close-ups of them. The graffiti concentrate on the monochromatic orthostates or the painted borders. Several of the graffiti are written as two lines that end on a border. Essentially, the writers use the painted border as a guideline for the last line of the graffito, perhaps to align the text. There is a preference, for the most part, toward writing the graffito on wall plaster of a single color, probably because this enhanced visibility and legibility.

The writing on this wall is unobtrusive. There are no graffiti on the megalographic frieze. The painting was obviously a great investment of time and money, and avoiding it seems to have been a conscious act, perhaps motivated by respect or taboo. Furthermore, although it is impossible to know the date of the graffiti, the frieze

[284] Measurements were calculated from measurements given in the CIL (generally only width and height), personal observation on site, and from (Moorman 1993) for graffiti from V.4.a. Height from ground is the distance from the ground to the lowest part of the graffito. These measurements are naturally skewed by (a) the unequal recording of measurements in the CIL and (b) the unequal quality of preservation (extant graffiti were measured again on site, increasing accuracy).

was at least one hundred years old at the time of the eruption.[285] So perhaps the frieze's age contributed to the sense of its inviolability. The very fact that the owners of the house had not redecorated the *oecus* in current style suggests as much.

On this wall, the graffiti, for the most part, are quite small. Their width ranges from 8 cm (CIL IV 8013) to 20 cm (CIL IV 8017). The height ranges from 3 cm (CIL IV 8015) to 13 cm (CIL IV 8017). At this size, the graffiti do not detract from the overall visual effect but are still legible at close range. In essence, the viewer of the graffito needed to be up close to read it, but did not necessarily need to know its exact placement to find it.

Although the graffiti were unobtrusive, the good preservation of the wall plaster enables us to observe that they were not invisible, either. They are quite easy to see, even without the use of raking light. The contrasting color between the wall painting and the preparation layers enhances visibility. Scratching through the upper layers of the painted wall plaster brought out a different, often lighter color underneath, aiding in the visibility of the graffito itself.

The graffiti on the west wall show similar tendencies.[286] All of them on this wall appear within monochromatic borders except CIL IV 9264, an alphabet, which is located on the unfinished plaster of the wall. This particular graffito is also quite large (53 cm in length, 8 cm in height), unlike the others.[287] It is certainly large enough to be visually obtrusive, perhaps because it was destined to be covered over with a new layer of wall

[285] (Bragantini 1990, 193)
[286] See **Figure 104** for an overview; see **Figures 105-107** for details
[287] Other graffiti: 8018 (7 cm height, 15.5 cm width), 8019 (13 cm height, 18 cm width)

plaster. Indeed, the very fact that it is an alphabet strengthens this "practice plaster" suggestion.

The graffiti in Room 19, the small room attached to this *oecus*, appear on a deep red orthostate. However, they are much less visible because of the dim lighting in the room (see below). In addition, the vibrant red plaster of this room, when scratched, does not seem to have enhanced visibility as much as the plaster that held the graffiti in the adjoining *oecus* (Room 16), which, when scratched, tends to produce a lighter color than the preparation layers underneath. In this room (Room 19), the incisions produced a darker color, which does not contrast as strikingly with the vibrant red of the surface.[288] Perhaps for this reason (and the decreased light in the room) the graffiti are much larger than those in the adjoining room. The height of the graffiti in this room ranges from 12 to 28 cm and the width ranges from 25 to 41 cm.[289]

Another sample of extant graffiti that allows examination of their interaction with the wall plaster is from V.2.4.[290] In this house, the majority of graffiti are on peristyle columns. The peristyle wall plaster is in terrible condition, but it is clear that it consisted of plain white and red plaster with some decorated bands at least in the upper zones.[291] Even though monochrome plaster was plentiful, the graffiti writers preferred the columns and pilasters of the peristyle rather than the walls. Such a decision, as I have already

[288] This effect may also be due to vagaries of preservation. This room receives significantly less light than the *oecus*, which may account for the darker color. Work in preservation and conservation of graffiti within wall plaster is much needed.
[289] The content of these graffiti, which will be discussed further in Chapter Six, include two names, a greeting, and a commercial graffito.
[290] These graffiti will be discussed further in Chapter Five. They include several greetings, drawings, and names.
[291] (Sampaolo 1991, 810)

emphasized, was motivated by factors of visibility. The extant graffiti in this house are on a single peristyle pilaster and are of a medium size. Again, they are large enough to be legible but cannot be seen from a great distance. They range in height from 2.5-6 cm. and from 2.5 to 29 cm in width.

The graffiti in the peristyle of House I.9.5 follow these general trends, though some of them are above average in size. The majority of graffiti in this house were found surrounding an obsidian mirror in the peristyle (see Chapter Five).[292] The mirror is no longer extant and the house itself is completely closed, but it appears that the mirror and the surrounding plaster on which the graffiti were written was a secondary installation (see **Figures 109** and **110**).[293] This plaster may have been a preparation layer or temporary installation for a new layer.

The graffiti surrounding this mirror are unusual in their location (see Chapter Five). Their widths range from 6.5 cm (CIL IV 10009b) to 28 cm (CIL IV 10008) while height ranges from 2.4 to 14 cm.[294] They are only slightly above average in size, but their visibility is markedly increased because of the wall plaster on which they were written. Because they are on unfinished plaster and deeply inscribed, the letterforms are quite clear. Perhaps, their size and visibility were permissible only because they were written on a surface that was meant to be temporary. As such, they might correspond to

[292] This mirror and the graffiti on the surrounding plaster were removed sometime between the publication of *PPM* in 1991 and the present. In the future, I plan to track its whereabouts in Il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli or storage in Pompeii.
[293] (de Vos 1990b, 43-44)
[294] These are the measurements given in the CIL; the graffiti are no longer extant to allow for personal observation.

the graffito in House I.6.4, discussed above; the alphabet written on the preparation layer is larger and more visible than all the other graffiti in the space.

Only three graffiti in my corpus seem to respond directly to the wall paintings on which they were written. The first (CIL IV 4050: *Hic Iudices*), found in the Casa degli Epigrammi (V.1.18), was written on a wall painting showing the judgment of Paris (see also Chapter Five). The graffito serves as a label or perhaps indicates the words spoken by one of the characters. It imitates, then, the painted epigrams found elsewhere in this house, which an artist painted directly on the wall paintings.[295] Another graffito in the same house, CIL IV 4052 (*Pelias/ Alcestis)*, responds to a wall painting in a different room of the house (See Chapter Five).

The third graffito that directly responds to a wall painting is CIL IV 3442, found in V.2.4 (see Chapter Five).[296] It serves as a caption to a dining scene and mimics a painted inscription on the painting on the opposite wall. These three graffiti show an impulse towards imitating painted inscriptions on other wall paintings located nearby. Here again, though, the graffito in no way detracts from or obstructs the view of the painting itself. The writers carefully placed the captions in blank space of the painting to avoid covering the figures.

In general, the graffiti in my corpus do not focus on decorated wall paintings. The authors tend to avoid writing on top of detailed paintings, even though they cover

[295] As I have stated in the introduction, I am examining the scratched, informal messages within these spaces so I do not treat the epigrams in this study.
[296] *Facitis • vobis • suaviter • ego canto / est • ita • valeas*

many of the surfaces within the houses.[297] Instead, they prefer plain white and red plaster, especially on columns, or monochromatic architectural painting like orthostates and borders. These findings accord well with other studies of graffiti.[298] The graffiti writers seem to have been cognizant of the surfaces on which they were writing, but chose not to comment on that surface directly.

4.3 Graffiti and Lighting

So far, I have determined that, in general, graffiti appear on monochromatic wall plaster, often in border areas. The graffiti are small and visually unobtrusive, though still visible for the careful observer. But how visible would such graffiti be throughout the day and night? To answer such a question we must examine ancient lighting conditions, but doing so is difficult for several reasons. All of the houses in my corpus have reconstructed roofs and many have reconstructed walls and windows. These architectural elements may or may not be reflective of the ancient conditions. Furthermore, access to the site is prohibited at night, which could aid in our understanding of the experience of darkness within the houses.

Lighting conditions must have had a great effect on the visibility of graffiti within a building. The Pompeian house looked inward and especially for reasons of privacy was generally not built with ample windows. Natural light filtered from the *compluvium* and

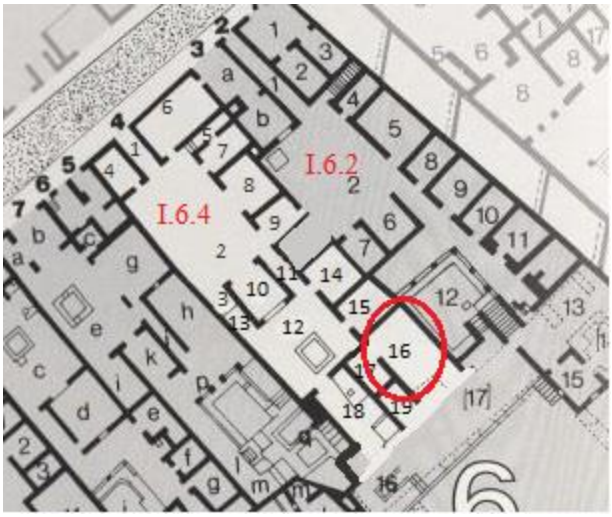
[297] This accords well with Benefiel's findings in the House of Maius Castricius. (Benefiel 2010a, 71)
[298] Benefiel 2010a finds that some of the graffiti may have been influenced by nearby wall paintings (namely, the drawing of the deer) but none are inscribed directly on the wall paintings. In fact, she states "they are careful to respect the fresco decoration." (71)

the peristyle, but, even so, many rooms remained fairly dark throughout the day. Of course, artificial light (oil lamps) supplemented natural light, but the visibility of graffiti would have been vastly different from their modern presentation.

The *oecus* in House I.6.4 has a modern roof that allows ambient light from the surrounding rooms; the doorway in the west wall and a window in the south wall also provide light into the space. The current lighting of the rooms allows easy visibility of the graffiti during the day, at least. However, at night it would be difficult to see them without a lighting source directly next to the wall. Archaeological experimentation has shown that ancient oil lamps were only able to provide visibility to about 30 cm.[299] This suggests that visibility at night would have been, at best, limited to graffiti located near to oil lamps.

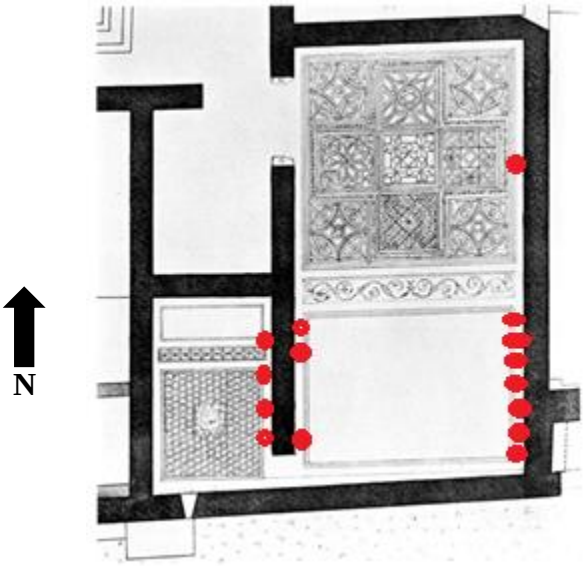
As I will discuss in the next chapter, the *oecus* in House 1.6.4 was connected to House I.6.2 (Casa del Criptoportico) at some point in its history.

[299] Killian Mallon, "The Roman Consumption of Nocturnal Light," University of California Irvine Graduate Student Conference 2014



(Illustration 4.1: I.6.2 and I.6.4, from (Bragantini 1990, 280); red circles and numbers added by the author

At that time, the room had a roof but was open to the peristyle of House I.6.2, which provided ambient light from the open courtyard into the space. This may be one reason to account for the prevalence of the graffiti on the south side of room.



(Illustration 4.2: Rooms 16 and 19, from Spinazzola 1953, fig. 108; red dots added by the author)
(Each red dot represents a graffito)

Starlight and moonlight from the courtyard at night, any additional lamps in the portico, and sunlight during the day would have illuminated the south side of the room. However, at night, even with additional lamps, the graffiti on the east and west walls would have been difficult to see.

Likewise, for much of its history the room commonly identified as a *cubiculum* attached to this *oecus* (Room 19) once adjoined the portico to its south. The light from the portico would have illuminated the south side of the room, which is also the area where the graffiti were located. Later the room was closed off and joined to House I.6.4. The owners then installed a small, slit-type window in the south wall. This window provides very little illumination, even at midday. The graffiti are nearly impossible to read even with strong flashlights.[300]

[300] See **Figure 108** which was shot with raking light

(Illustration 4.3: Room 19, photo by author, shot with strong flash at midday)

Lighting would have been less of an issue for the graffiti in the peristyle of House V.2.4. Located on a column in the open peristyle, they are well illuminated during the day. Visibility at night, however, would likely only have been possible with a lamp located nearby. Even a full moon may not have illuminated the pilaster enough to enable writing or reading.

I suggest that one of the reasons why peristyle columns were popular places for graffiti writing, in addition to heightened spatial visibility, control, and pedestrian traffic (as discussed in Chapter Three), is the availability of light during the day and at night. This is also true of the *atrium*, whose walls were lit (though certainly less strongly than the peristyle's) by light from the *compluvium*. Even in broad daylight, however, many other rooms in the house were dark because windows were often small and narrow,

providing little illumination into the room. At night, these same areas would have been nearly completely dark without lamps.[301]

Despite the limitations of our knowledge, it seems clear that the availability of lighting would have been a determining factor in graffiti writing. I have suggested that high graffiti concentrations on peristyle columns may be due to the greater illumination of the columns. Furthermore, clusters in certain rooms (as in House I.6.4) may be due to the availability of lamps or other lighting sources.

4.4 Reflectivity and Wall Plaster

The variable preservation of wall plaster may greatly affect the visibility of the graffiti today as compared to antiquity. At present, graffiti are, for the most part, difficult to read with the naked eye unless on well-preserved plaster. In general, I was only able to easily find graffiti in those rooms that were covered by a roof (and had been for some time). However, a Pompeian's experience may have been different, since all these surfaces, with the exception of the peristyle columns, would have been in enclosed spaces.

The ancient sources have much to say about the treatment and preservation of wall plaster. Varnishes are known from Classical sources: Pliny remarks, for example, that the painter Apelles used a very thin layer of *atramentum* to dull the brightness of the

[301]It does not seem that the *atrium* was any more likely than any other rooms to be lit at night. A quick survey of Allison's *Pompeian Households* indicates that only 7% of the lamps found in her sample were in type code "3" (*atria*).

colors and to protect the paintings from dust and dirt.[302] This *atramentum* is usually interpreted as a varnish.[303] However, Pliny states that no one was able to imitate this process, so it was perhaps limited in use. There is no evidence for the use of drying oils or beeswax as a preservation method of Roman wall painting.[304]

The ancient sources are also quite specific about the finishing of wall paintings. Vitruvius states that the preparation plaster should be of multiple layers that are beaten and rubbed before the final layers are applied.[305] He compares the multiple-layered and beaten plaster to a thick silver mirror, which reflects well with high polish.[306] This indicates that Roman painters or plasterers, if they were following the precepts of Vitruvius, would construct several layers of plaster, which, when properly beaten, would look polished and give off a good deal of luster.[307]

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[302] *Inventa eius et ceteris profuere in arte; unum imitari nemo potuit, quod absoluta opera atramento inlinebat ita tenuit, ut id ipsum, cum repercssum claritatis coloum omnium excitaret, custodiretque a pulbere et sordibu, ad maum intuienti demum appareret, sed et luminum ratione magna, ne claritas colurum aciem offenderet veluti per lapidem speclarem intuentibus et e longinquo eadem res imis floridis coloribus austeritatem occultat daret* (XXV. 97)

[303] (Laurie 1910, 33)

[304] Ibid.

[305] *Cum ab harena praeter trullissationem non minus tribus coriis fuerit deformatum, tunc e marmore graneo directiones sunt subigendae, cum ita materies temperetur uti cum subigatur non haereat ad rutrum, sed purum ferrum e mortario liberetur. Graneo inducto et inarescente, alterum corium mediocre dirigatur.* (VII.3)

[306] *cum vero unum corium harenae et unum minuti marmoris erit inductum, tenuitas eius minus valendo faciliter rumpitur nec splendorem politionibus propter inbecillitatem crassitudinis proprium obtinebit. quemadmodum enim speculum argenteum tenui lamella ductum incertas et sine viribus habet remissiones splendoris, quod autem e solida temperatura fuerit factum, recipiens in se firmis viribus politionem fulgentes in aspectu certasque considerantibus imagines reddit, sic tectoria quae ex tenui sunt ducta materia non modo sunt rimosa, sed etiam celeriter evanescunt, quae autem fundata harenationis et marmoris soliditate sunt crassitudine spissa, cum sunt politionibus crebris subacta, non modo sunt nitentia, sed etiam imagines expressas aspicientibus ex eo opere remittunt.* (VII.3)

[307] Archaeological experimentation has shown the mirror-like finish is best achieved with plaster of larger particle sizes within the *intonaci*. (Häfner 1997, 146) Häfner found that i*ntonaci* with grain distributions of 0-2mm and 40% of particles greater than .5mm showed the greatest sheen after polishing.

It is clear, then, that the ancient sources valued a mirror-like finish of the plaster whether through varnishes or the preparation of the plaster itself, a feature not often discussed in modern scholarship. Below is a photograph of a small stretch of wall plaster located in an entrance corridor of the Central Baths in Herculaneum. A roof seems to have covered this particular wall for its entire existence. Likewise, its location in a narrow hallway shielded the plaster from the sun.

(Illustration 4.4: CIL IV 10603, photo by author)
(CIL IV 10603: Ṇicanor va(le)

The plaster, though fragmentary, is extremely well preserved. The surface is smooth and free of mold, although modern graffiti proliferate in the upper portions. In fact, the plaster is so glossy that it reflects the flash:

(Illustration 4.5: CIL IV 10603 with flash, photo by author)

(Illustration 4.6: CIL IV 10604 in context, photo and emphasis by author)

The visibility of the graffito is greatly enhanced by the general preservation of the wall plaster and the mirror-like finish of the top layer. Given that many Pompeian walls originally held such polish, we may presume that the graffiti written on them were comparably enhanced.

Ancient authors, like modern conservators, understood the harmful effects of sun exposure on the plaster finish.[308] Vitruvius observes that plaster decorated in vermilion in open areas, which was particularly susceptible to the sun, should be coated in wax and rubbed with linen.[309] However, as is painfully obvious to any visitor to Pompeii, wall plaster quickly degrades when exposed to environmental conditions such as sunshine and rain. Most wall plaster in Pompeii, therefore, looks more akin to this example:

[308] *inlito solis atque lunae contactus inimicus. remedium, ut pariete siccato cera Punica cum oleo liquefacta candens saetis inducatur iterumque admotis gallae carbonibus inuratur ad sudorem usque, postea candelis subigatur ac deinde linteis puris, sicut et marmora nitescunt.*(XXXIII.40)

[309] This process seems to have been reserved for this particular color and was not widespread in practice. (Ling 1991, 201)
apertis vero id est peristylis aut exhedris aut ceteris eiusdem modi locis, quo sol et luna possit splendores et radios inmittere, cum ab his locus tangitur, vitiatur et amissa virtute coloris denigratur. itaque cum et alii multi tum etiam Faberius scriba cum in Aventino voluisset habere domum eleganter expolitam, peristylis parietes omnes induxit minio, qui post dies XXX facti sunt invenusto varioque colore. itaque pro minio locavit inducendos alios colores. at si qui subtilior fuerit et voluerit expolitionem miniaceam suum colorem retinere, cum paries expolitus et aridus fuerit, ceram ponticam igni liquefactam paulo oleo temperatam saeta inducat, deinde postea carbonibus in ferreo vase compositis eam ceram a proximo cum pariete calefaciundo sudare cogat, atque ut peraequetur deinde tunc candela linteisque puris subigat, uti signa marmorea nuda curantur. haec autem γανωσις graece dicitur. ita obstans cerae ponticae lorica non patitur nec lunae splendorem nec solis radios lambendo eripere ex his politionibus colorem. (VII.9)

(Illustration 4.7: CIL IV 10019, photo by author)
CIL IV 10019: S<e>mpe[r]
[ ]tuabileș

This particular stretch of wall plaster was completely exposed to the elements. As a result, its surface color has almost completely degraded (traces of the original yellow pigment can be seen on the right edge of the photograph). Furthermore, mold caused by moisture has grown on the surface, further obscuring the graffito. The wall plaster has lost its former shininess and now appears dull.

This destruction greatly affects the visibility as well as the preservation of graffiti. What seems impossible to read to the modern observer, may have been quite visible to the ancient one. Many graffiti on peristyle columns, for example, are unreadable today due to their location outside and in the path of the sun's harmful rays. Again, this may

not have been the case in antiquity, as the sides of the columns facing the portico would have been protected by a roof. Pompeians often changed their wall plaster in accordance with trends and taste.[310] In enclosed areas, not susceptible to the ravages of sunlight and rain, the glossy wall plaster could have remained in good condition, keeping the graffiti visible and legible for many years.

4.5 Graffiti and Style

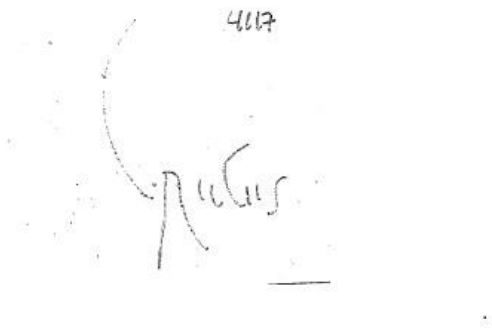
An additional factor affecting the visibility of graffiti is the style of each individual message. In contrast to ancient graffiti, modern gang graffiti has been described as an "anti-language," a method of definition and communication within an antisociety.[311] Indeed, although most gang graffiti are not secret (anyone walking down the street is able to see them), it is nearly impossible for the uninitiated to read them because of writing conventions.[312] The way in which any graffito is written can either encourage the reading of its message or encrypt it.

Studying the style of ancient graffiti is a difficult task since the sample is confined to extant graffiti, those drawn in the *CIL* or photographed. Fortunately, nearly half the graffiti in my corpus have drawings available for study. The large majority of these are written in casual Roman cursive writing, which was adapted from Latin capital letters.[313]

[310] For the Pompeian styles see especially (Clarke 1991)
[311] (Adams K., and Winter, A. 1997, 340)
[312] Ibid.
[313] (Van Hoesen 1915, 19)

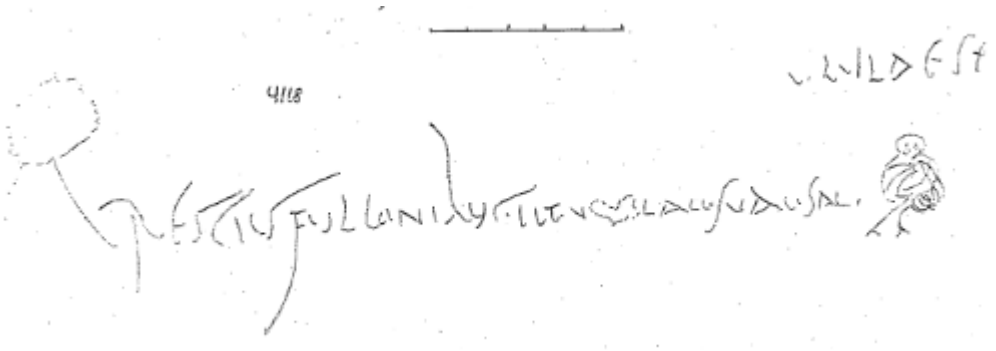
There are several examples, however, of graffiti that use capital letters, similar to the lettering of stone inscriptions.

First, I turn to the graffiti on a single pilaster in House V.2.4. Since many of them are still extant, it is possible to examine the way they were written and the effect that had on their visibility. Unfortunately, other graffiti in the house have perished and no drawings of them exist. Most of the surviving graffiti in this house are in the casual Roman cursive style. The letterforms are adapted for simplicity of writing. The letter "E," which was difficult to inscribe with three horizontal lines, is often written simply as two parallel vertical lines. In general, the letters are more vertical than their inscriptional counterparts. "C"s and "S"s, for example, are flattened for ease of writing. CIL IV 4117 is a typical example in this style:



(Illustration 4.8: CIL IV 4117, line drawing by author)
CIL IV 4117: Cre<s>ce(n)s

There is some flourish in the larger "C" at the beginning of the name. The other letters are in an economical writing style. The same style is present in CIL IV 4118:



(Illustration 4.9: CIL IV 4118, line drawing by author)
CIL IV 4118: Ulula est/ Cresce(n)s Fullonibus et u(lu)lae suae sal

Some of the same conventions are in place in this inscription, presumably because they were written by the same author. The inscription starts with the large "C," as in the last Cresce(n)s.[314] Here, the writer has drawn the first "E" with a vertical crossbar but all subsequent "E"s as two vertical lines. Interpuncts separate several words, improving readability since space between the words is minimal. Many of the letters have long tails as flourishes including most of the letters in *Crescens* and the "F" and "B" of *fullonibus*.

The *CIL* records that *ulula est* was written by another hand. It makes sense if another author completed the message of the original graffito (*Crescens greets the fullers and his owl*) with a drawing and (*this is the owl!*). In fact, several letters in *ulula est* are inconsistent with the letter forms of the line below it. The "L"s of *ulula est*, for example, seem to have been written with two strokes while the "L"s of the line below it seem to consist of one stroke. The crossbar of the "T" in *ulula est* is in the middle, while it is at the top in the line below it. However, the graffiti are not consistent in letterforms even

[314] The circle intersecting the "C" is a break in the plaster.

within a line. CIL IV 4118 has "E"s inscribed with horizontal crossbars and as two lines, so these distinctions in letterforms may be irrelevant.

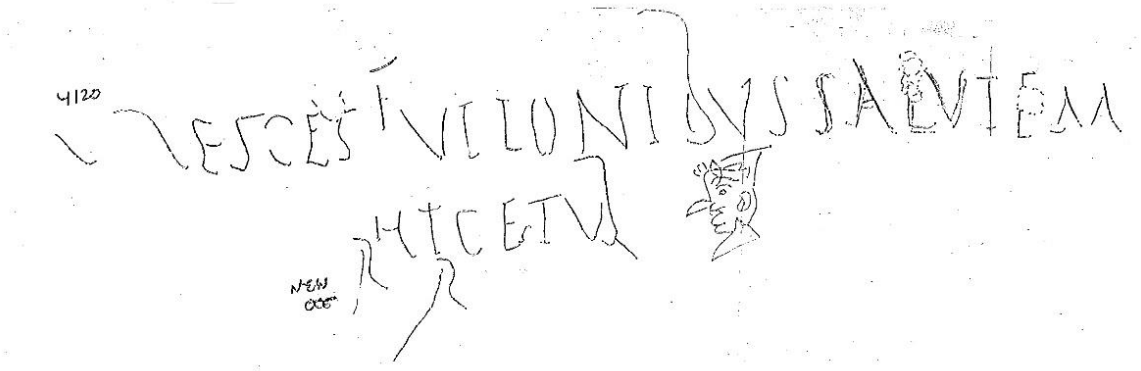
Directly below this inscription is CIL IV 4119, which is written in quite a different style:[315]

(Illustration 4.10: CIL IV 4119, line drawing by author)
CIL IV 4119: Primus Hic

This graffito is in capitals, similar in style to inscriptional capitals. The crosshatching in the individual letters emphasizes the letters and increases visibility. The effect is remarkable; this graffito is visible even from a distance of several feet.[316] Its style monumentalizes the message and increases the visibility.

CIL IV 4120 written below it combines the styles of both graffiti:

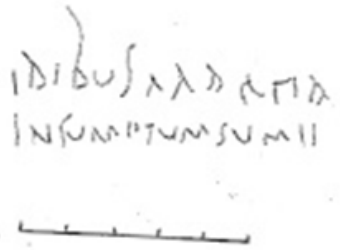
[315] See **Figure 111** for a photo of these two graffiti together
[316] See **Figure 112** for a photo of this pilaster at a distance



(Illustration 4.11: CIL IV 4120, DiBiasie 05; line drawing by author)
CIL IV 4120: Cresces Fullonibus Salu(tem)/ Hic et ubi
DiBiasie 05: RR

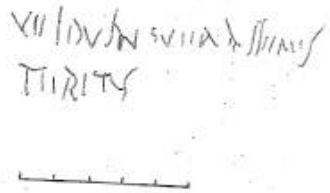
This graffito is in capital letters but still shows some of the cursive tendencies of the first graffito. The "S"s are more rounded. The "B," while not quite an inscriptional "B," is still more rounded overall and many of the letters have serifs. The spacing of the letters has more in common with "*Primus Hic,"* also increasing visibility. The author does not use interpuncts in this graffito, perhaps because the extra space enhances readability, eliminating their necessity.

I turn now to another set of extant graffiti from House I.6.4. Most of these graffiti survive today and are depicted by drawings in the *CIL*. Several are in small letters in cursive script, for example, three graffiti mentioning the Ides, the first two of which seem to be in the same handwriting. The third is distinct; its letters are spaced much farther apart and the "M" and the "A" differ significantly from those in the first two graffiti.



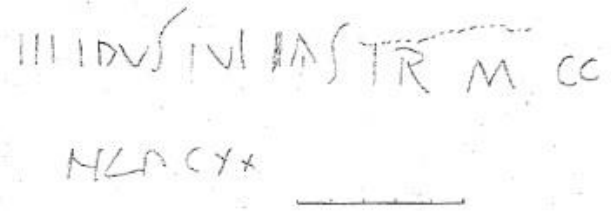
(Illustration 4.12: CIL IV 8013, line drawing by author)

CIL IV 8013: *Idibus Martia in sumptum sumis(i)*



(Illustration 4.13: CIL IV 8015, line drawing by author)

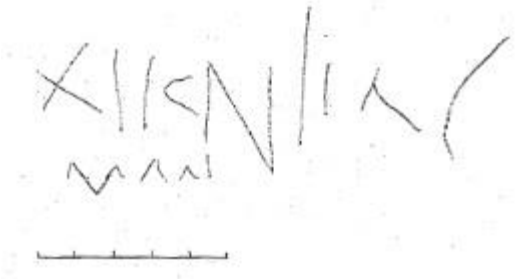
CIL IV 8015: *VII Idus N(o)vem Asseres Tertius*



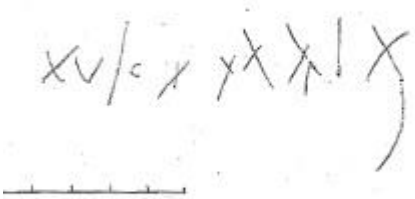
(Illustration 4.14: CIL IV 8019, DiBiasie 21 line drawing by author)

CIL IV 8019: *III Idus Iulias Tr M CC*
DiBiasie 21: Unclear letters *NL?CYX*

Similarly, we find two graffiti recording the Kalends:



(Illustration 4.15: CIL IV 8016, line drawing by author)



(Illustration 4.16: CIL IV 8014, line drawing by author)

CIL IV 8016: *XI k(alendas) Iulias/ Ma{a}i[as]* CIL IV 8014: *XV*[317] *ka(lendas)Maia(s*[318]*)*

The writing style of these graffiti resembles many Pompeian graffiti. The letters are simplified to their most basic form, making them hard to read, at least for the modern observer. Letterforms are so abbreviated that they can be difficult to distinguish. An ancient observer, surrounded by such writing every day, may have had less difficulty. However, the fact remains that while such graffiti may not have *discouraged* readability, they in no way *encouraged* it. The casual observer would not have been drawn to the graffito by the style of its presentation. This observation fits neatly with the content of the graffiti. All of them record economic transactions and dates. These are not texts meant to encourage dialogue or to be read by many visitors in the house. This was the offhanded scrawl on the wall used as notepaper and the style of the graffito clearly demonstrates this.

[317] Recorded in the *CIL* but I did not find
[318] Recorded in the *CIL* but I did not find

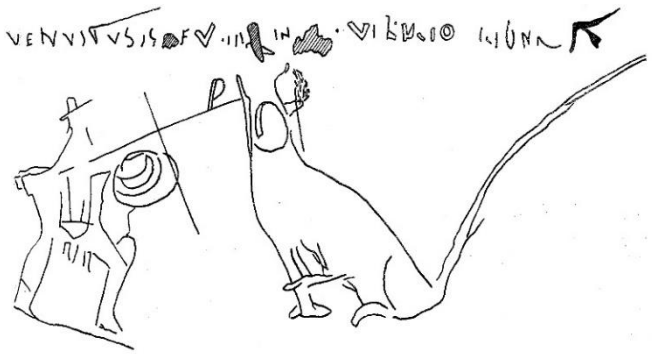
Other writers in the same room, however, were obviously concerned with style. For example CIL IV 8020:

(Illustration 4.17: CIL IV 8020 from (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970)

The clever way the author has incorporated Venustus' name into a drawing of a boat grabs the reader's attention.[319] The letters are in the cursive style though the serifs on some letters (the last "U") and the capital form throughout are similar to the capital letter inscriptional style. The way the author has carefully placed and inscribed the letters increases the legibility of the name.

The name Venustus appears in another graffito on the opposite wall:

[319] For more on boat-names see Chapters Five and Six



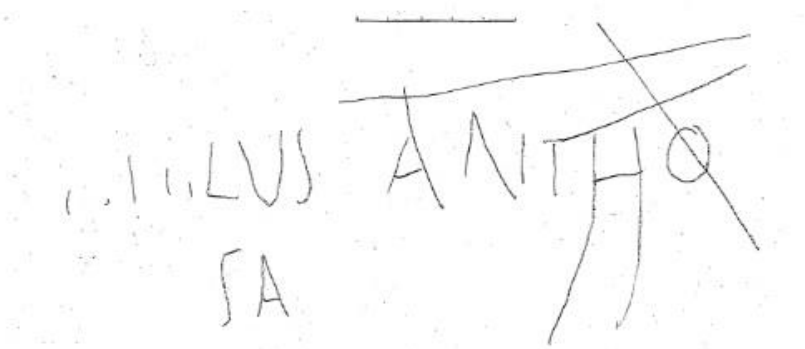
(Illustration 4.18: CIL IV 8017, from (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970))
CIL IV 8017: *Venustus IS [ ] F in Vibrio? Lione [ ]*

(Illustration 4.19: CIL IV 8017, photo by author)

The letterforms here are in the cursive style and are quite different from the previous Venustus. Here the emphasis is on the drawing. The graffito, whose meaning is rather unclear, serves as a caption for the gladiator drawing below. Although several words are indecipherable, the graffito seems to mention a lion and Venustus, probably the gladiator

himself. It does not draw attention to itself, but rather serves to underscore the message of the drawing.

The last graffito is located in a room adjoining the *oecus*:



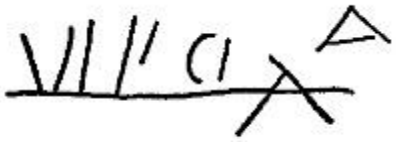
(Illustration 4.20: CIL IV 8012, line drawing by author)
CIL IV 8012: *(Ferreo[320])lus Antho/ Sa(lve)*

The letters of this graffito are clear and well-spaced. The graffito itself is quite large (25 cm in length) and each letter is around 6 cm in height. As I have already suggested, this may be because of poor lighting in the room and the rich, dark color of the wall plaster. The author chose to write this graffito in a style that increased legibility, likely because of the conditions in the room.

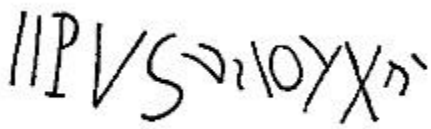
Other graffiti that allow an examination of script styles are in House I.9.5. Though no longer *in situ*, they were documented by several drawings in the *CIL*. The meaning of several of these graffiti is unclear even though the drawings of the letters themselves are clear (see also Chapter Five). This may be due to poor preservation of the

[320] It is likely these letters are, in fact, still extant. As mentioned previously, the room is very dark, greatly reducing visibility of these graffiti.

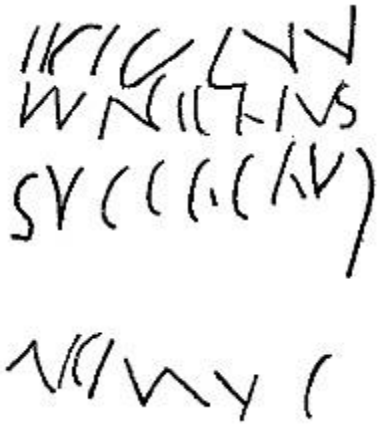
graffiti, which prohibited a clear reading, or how the graffiti were written in antiquity. If the drawings are accurate, it is quite possible the same author wrote all of them.



(Illustration 4.21: CIL IV 9995 (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970))
CIL IV 9995: *Vilici a a?*



(Illustration 4.22: CIL IV 9998 (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970))
CIL IV 9998: *epus u? oyX ?*



(Illustration 4.23: CIL IV 9999 (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970))
CIL IV 9999: *eciu? Uu / uu nelius/ Succ[e?]clus / Nci ? y*

(Illustration 4.24: CIL IV 10001 (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970))
CIL IV 10001: *Manu viti*[321]

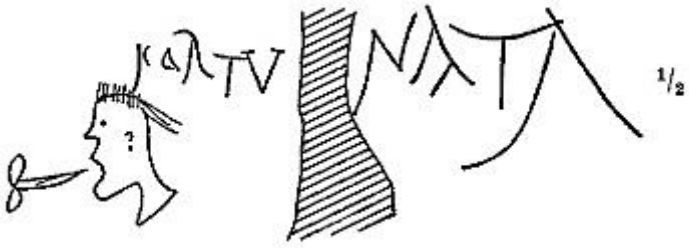
(Illustration 4.25: CIL IV 10002 (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970))
CIL IV 10002: *Viviuri? Regunt?*

The preceding graffiti have similarities in their style and in the indecipherability of their content. This may be due to the author's semiliteracy or simply to poor preservation or documentation. In any case, the style of the graffiti is fairly uniform. They are in cursive style, with a large amount of curvature in several of the letters, especially the "S"s and "C"s. Some of the rows of letters (CIL IV 10002) or individual letters (CIL IV 9998) of the inscriptions are slanted. Indecipherable letters may in fact be Greek. Though uncertain, some of the letters on the right side of CIL IV 9998 may be OYX[Π/Λ].[322] An *upsilon* may appear in CIL IV 9999 and 10001 as well. Several letterforms look similar in the inscriptions, including the very angular "U" forms in all the graffiti. The style of the inscriptions, as they are currently presented, does not

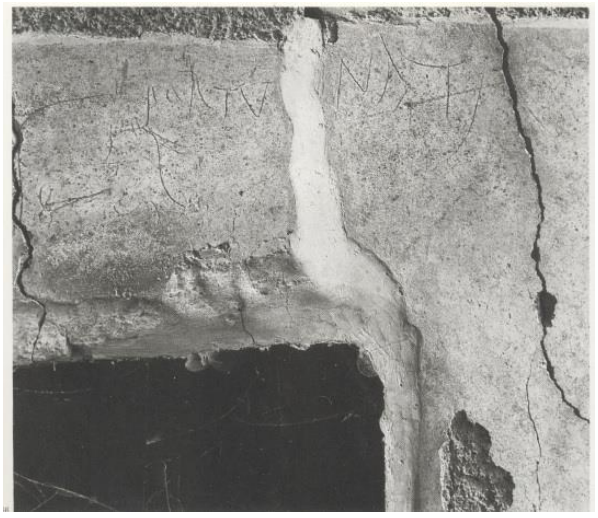
[321] Even though the drawing is clear, the second word of this inscription is interpreted as *viti* rather than *yiti* due to the presence of *vitis* in CIL IV 10000, located on the same wall.
[322] These letters do not correspond to any known Greek word.

promote legibility. It is possible the messages of the inscriptions were of a utilitarian nature and were not meant to be read by many others or perhaps they are written in code.

Sometimes features of the wall influenced the particular style of a graffito. CIL IV 10005, found in House I.9.5, is written in clear capitals. Interestingly, unlike many graffiti that are broken and destroyed when plaster falls off, this graffito is riven by a crack extending up from the top right corner of a mirror embedded in the wall, but no letters are missing from the name.



(Illustration 4.26: CIL IV 10005 (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970))
CIL IV 10005: *Fortunata*



(Illustration 4.27: CIL IV 10005, from de Vos 1990, 44)

The author could have written around this natural break in the plaster in antiquity. Alternatively, modern reconstruction could have separated the two pieces. The mirror and plaster surrounding it are no longer *in situ* and their location is currently unknown. Because these pictures are the only evidence of this mirror, it is difficult to know if the break is ancient or modern. This particular reference to Fortunata is illustrated by a drawing of a woman performing fellatio.

4.6 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined graffiti as artifacts themselves and explored some of the qualitative factors concerning this genre of writing. I have considered features like style, lighting conditions, wall plaster preservation, and wall plaster color as it relates to the visibility of graffiti. In the last chapter, I showed that graffiti tend to be located in the most "visible" locations in the building. In this chapter, I have qualified that statement by taking into account several features that promote or decrease the likelihood for visibility of a graffito.

Lighting conditions likely had a great effect on the visibility of graffiti within a building though it is difficult to understand to what extent since much of the architecture has been reconstructed. Lighting may have been one factor in the location of some graffiti in the southern end of rooms in I.6.4. It seems clear that graffiti would not be visible at night unless adjacent to oil lamps or an area open to the night sky. The type of wall plaster on which the graffiti were written also could affect visibility. Some wall

plasters, when scratched, showed graffiti better than others because the lighter color of the preparation layer contrasted with the top layer. Further, wall plaster in antiquity likely had a glossy finish now seen only on the best-preserved plaster. This finish, which looks almost like a varnish, greatly enhances the visibility of graffiti scratched into the surface. The poor preservation of much wall plaster today greatly reduces legibility but this must not influence our understanding of its condition in antiquity. Finally, the script of each individual message could serve to highlight the graffito and increase or decrease legibility. For these reasons, two graffiti in the same location could have differed greatly in visibility depending on the way they were written.

For the most part, the graffiti in my sample are written to be legible and yet unobtrusive. Most are written on simple orthostates or painted borders in a way that does not detract from other, more precious features on the wall. Even those graffiti written directly upon painted scenes were in blank spaces. This cannot be read as the "defacement" so often associated with modern graffiti. These ancient examples are, for the most part, quite small. They are large enough to read at close range but not large enough to attract attention when one views the wall as a whole.

There was one situation, however, that tended to inspire graffiti writing that was larger than usual: temporary surfaces. Unfinished wall plaster in House I.6.4 contained an alphabet that was both larger and more visible (due to the lack of wall painting) than others in the room. House I.9.5, too, contained several graffiti surrounding an obsidian mirror that were larger and more visible than typical. Apparently, since these were areas of repair, the general trend towards small and unobtrusive writing was not followed.

These results tie into Michael Anderson's work on the location of building materials and repair work following the earthquake of 62AD. He finds, for example, that while building activities were occurring in House I.6.4, this material was placed in such a way as to be accessible but visibly occluded from many areas of the house and certainly from the street.[323] Repair was obviously ongoing in both houses with unusually large graffiti and for this reason visibility of the graffiti messages on the plaster was increased. Like Anderson's sample of building materials, both graffiti on unfinished plaster were on areas visually removed from many other areas of the house and impossible to view from the street.

One cannot fully understand exactly how these graffiti would have appeared to an ancient observer. The preservation of the wall plaster and the very houses themselves has changed too dramatically. However, it is important to be cognizant of these changes when looking at the material. While graffiti are *located* in the most visually "controlling" and "controlled" areas of the house, this chapter has shown that the actual *visibility* of the graffito is dependent on a multitude of factors. This visibility would have changed throughout the day and over time as well.

[323] (Anderson 2011)

Chapter Five[324]

In Chapters Two and Three, I analyzed the distribution of graffiti within the houses of my corpus to understand where they appear within the houses. I suggested, using space syntax, several reasons why the writers of the graffiti chose these locations. I found that graffiti typically appear in areas of high visibility, access, and pedestrian traffic. In this chapter, I analyze the graffiti assemblages from each individual building in my corpus. I seek to understand, through a closer examination of the graffiti, if their content can aid in understanding their location. Further, I examine the location of graffiti on a micro-level (within the room or on a wall) to understand the purpose of the graffiti and the use of space within the house. I show that the individual messages can sometimes be used to understand the reason for the placement of the graffiti in specific locations.

This chapter builds on the work of previous scholars, especially Benefiel and Milnor, by analyzing several buildings to examine how the graffiti interact with the space in which they were written and thus suggests an interpretation of the use of space. I am especially interested in investigating the way textual and archaeological records can inform each other. I show how the content of the graffiti can further elucidate the reason for the different distribution patterns identified through space syntax. Further, I examine

[324] I follow the Leiden conventions epigraphical abbreviations in this chapter: [abc] letters missing from the original text, a(bc) abbreviation, []abc[] letters erroneously omitted in antiquity, {abc} letters erroneously added in antiquity, ạḅ letters damaged and ambiguous outside of context, ABC clear but incomprehensible letters

how the graffiti can be used to interpret the use of and movement within a particular space.

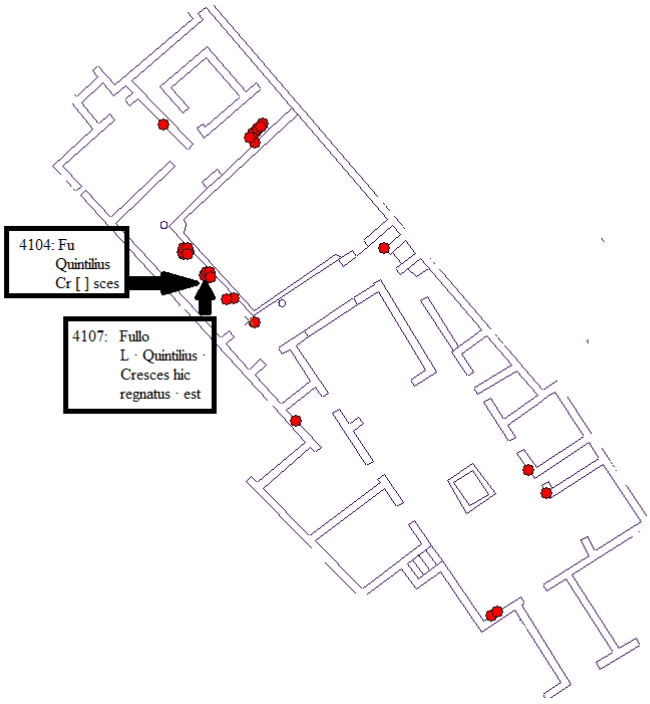
This chapter and the next are divided by the type of distribution discovered through access analysis of Chapters Two and Three. This chapter focuses on houses that contain what I have discovered is a typical distribution of graffiti (i.e. a majority of graffiti in the peristyle and the *atrium*). The following chapter focuses on houses with atypical graffiti distributions. By dividing the corpus in this way, we can understand how the graffiti in individual houses relate to a larger phenomenon of distribution patterns. By examining the graffiti with similar distributions together, I am able to pinpoint any graffito that deviates from the distribution. Finally, since graffiti with similar distributions indicate a similar pattern of use within the house, it is likely that the spaces with similar distributions would have been used in similar ways. I examine the graffiti of five houses (V.2.4, I.9.5, I.9.13, V.4.a., V.1.18) together to test such a possibility.

These house, I have determined, have a "typical" graffiti distribution, but nevertheless the graffiti in each are distinctive and aid in nuancing our understanding of the use of space. In each of these houses, I explore the type of graffiti found in the space and the typicality of those graffiti in each location. I examine the content of the graffiti to understand the space in which they were written. Finally, I compare houses with typical graffiti distributions to each other.

5.1 Casa del Triclinio/ Casa di Bacco/ Auberge de Crescens (V.2.4)

This house is frequently called the House of the Triclinium due to the magnificent paintings in the *triclinium* located in the back of the house. It is located off the prominent thoroughfare Via di Nola, which runs parallel to the Via dell'Abbondanza through the northern part of the city. The insula (V.2) consists of shops as well as grand houses including the House of the Silver Wedding (V.2.i). Many of the graffiti in this house mention one individual named Crescens, a popular cognomen in Pompeii attested 66 times throughout the city.[325] The Crescens of this house appears to have been Lucius Quintilius Crescens, a fuller, since two graffiti giving this full name were found in the peristyle of house V.2.4:

[325] No holistic study of the individuals named in graffiti exists, but this name is certainly one of the most popular. There are 51 recorded examples recorded in the CIL IV index. (CIL IV, 749) Other popular cognomina that appear frequently in graffiti are Ampliatus, Celadus, Celer, Felix, Fortunatus/Fortunata, Fructus, Iucundus, Primigenius/Primigenia, Rufus, Sabinus, Secundus, Successus/Successa. A fuller study of the cognomina present in the graffiti of Pompeii is much needed work

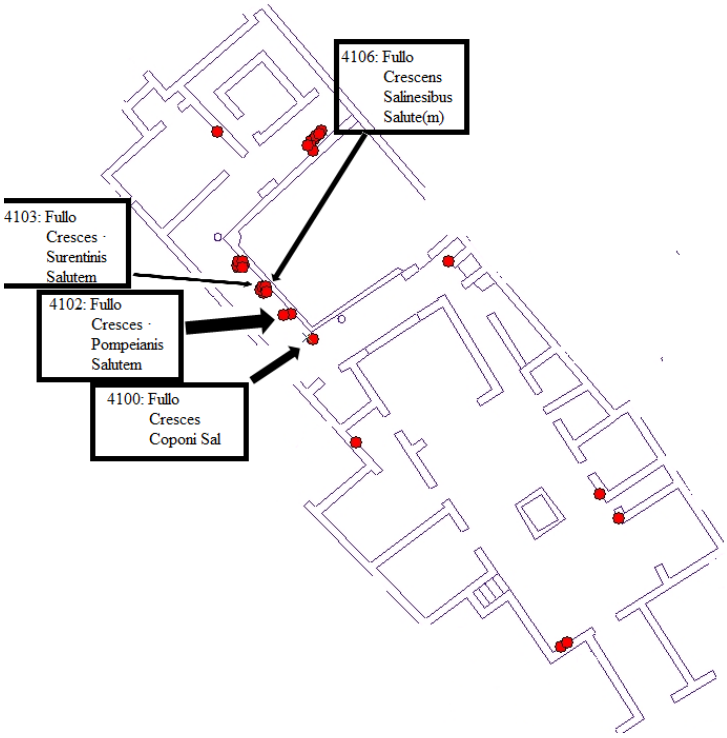


4104:[326] Fu[llo]
Quintilius
Cr [e] sce(n)s
[Quintilius Crescens the fuller]

4107: Fullo
L · Quintilius ·
Cresce(n)s hic
regnatus · est
[Lucius Quintilius Crescens the fuller ruled (was ruled?) here]

It follows that the other graffiti naming Crescens in the same house can also be associated with Lucius Quintilius. Not only are these other graffiti in close proximity to the Quintilius Crescens graffiti, but they are similar in content as well. The following graffiti were found on the peristyle columns of house V.2.4.[327]

[326] All numbers of the graffiti refer to CIL IV unless otherwise indicated. On the third column from the south of the left row of columns. See **Figure 33** for plan; see **Figure 113** for a GIS map of the graffiti in this house (in red) and the Crescens graffiti (in purple).
[327] See **Figure 114** for a photograph of these columns, graffiti no longer extant

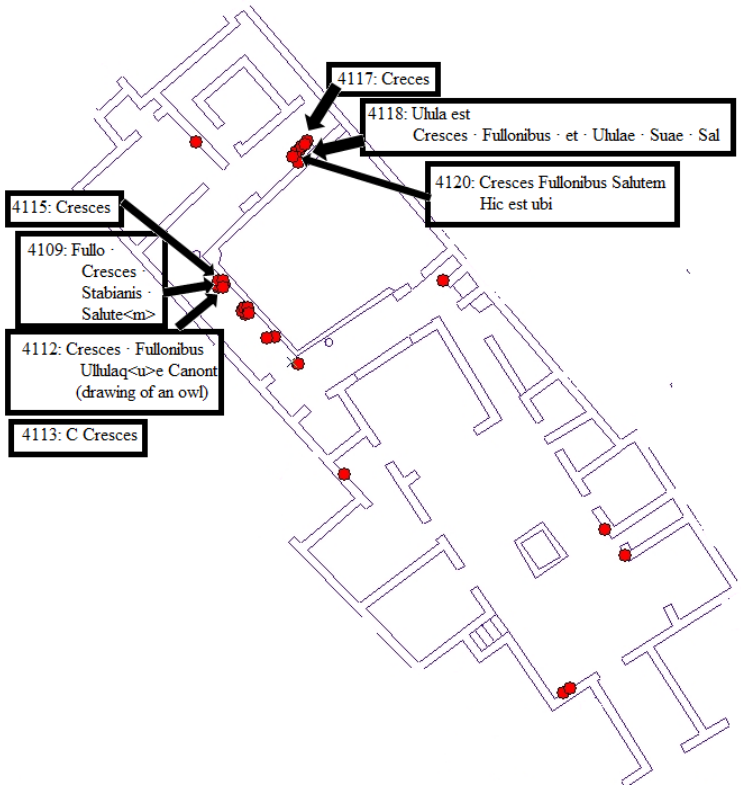


4100: Fullo
Cresce(n)s
coponi sal(utem)
[Cresces the fuller says hello to the innkeeper]

4102: Fullo
Cresce(n)s ·
Pompeianis
salutem
[Crescens the fuller says hello to the Pompeians]

4103: Fullo
Cresce(n)s ·
Su(r)rentinis
salutem
[Crescens the fuller says hello to the residents of Surrentum]

4106: Fullo
Crescens
Salinesibus
salute(m)
[Crescens the fuller says hello to the Salinenses]



4109: Fullo ·
Cresce(n)s ·
Stabianis ·
salute<m>
[Crescens the fuller says hello to the Stabians]

4112: Cresce(n)s · fullonibus
ul{l}ulaq<u>e canont
(drawing of an owl)
[Crescens and an owl sing to the fullers]

4113: C Cresce(n)s
[Crescens]

4115: Cresce(n)s
[Crescens]

4117:[328] Cre<s>ce(n)s
[Crescens]

4118:[329] Ulula est[330] (drawing of a owl)
Cresce(n)s · fullonibus · et · ululae · suae · sal(utem)
[This is an owl/ Crescens says hello to the fullers and their owl]

4120:[331] Cresce(n)s fullonibus salutem
hic et ubi(que)
(line 1: primitive drawing of a man)[332]
(line 2: drawing of man with cap facing left)[333]
[Crescens says hello to the fullers here and everywhere/ here is where]

A few insights about the use of space can be gained by examining this group of graffiti. Crescens is a fuller as is stated almost as an epithet in seven of the graffiti. He sends greetings to fullers in two other graffiti and mentions the owl (*ulula*), a symbol of the fullers by way of their patroness Minerva.[334]

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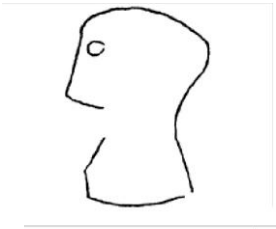
[328] See **Figure 115** for line drawing of the graffito; see **Figures 116** and **117** for photographs of the graffito and the wall.
[329] See **Figure 118** for drawing; see **Figures 119-120** for photographs
[330] *Ulula est* is in another hand.
[331] Found and photographed June 2013; see **Figure 121** for line drawing; see **Figures 120-124** for photographs

[332] Langner n. 476.  This drawing is not in the *CIL*.

[333] = Langner n. 254.
[334] Miko Flohr has written on the importance of the owl as a corporate symbol for the fullers and the construction of an occupational image. (Flohr, 338)

CIL IV 4112 (*Cresces • fullonibus ullulaque canont)* perhaps shows a familiarity with another graffito found outside the Fullery of Ululitremulus (9.13.4) that is a pun on the opening lines of Vergil's *Aeneid*: *Fullones ululamque cano, non arma virumque* (I sing of fullers and an owl, not arms and a man).[335] The play with *cano* in both graffiti suggests a familiarity with the trope; perhaps it was a saying popular among the fullers of Pompeii. Miko Flohr has suggested that the graffito outside the fullery (2 cm high) was too small to be easily legible to ordinary passersby. It was, therefore, targeted to the people living and working in the fullery who knew of its whereabouts.[336] Similarly, the graffiti of Crescens to the fullers in this house are located on the back pilaster of the peristyle facing north towards the walkway. The graffiti on this pilaster would not be visible unless one approached the rooms in the back of the house, an isolated area that would presume familiarity from its users.

These graffiti have been interpreted to reveal the function of this house, though I believe erroneously.[337] Della Corte believed this house was a *caupona* as he hypothesized that the graffiti indicated a conversation between the *caupo* (innkeeper) and neighbors, which included the fullers.[338] He imagined that Crescens, their leader, inebriated from a banquet (perhaps similar to the famous banquet painting found in this house), went on a spree of salutations throughout the portico.[339] However, these graffiti should not be used in isolation to interpret the space. CIL IV 4100, a crucial piece of

[335] For interpretation of this particular graffito see (Benefiel 2010a) and (Milnor 2009).
[336] See (Kruschwitz 2010c) for literary evidence of a similar phenomenon with graffiti on trees.
[337] For inn see (De Felice 2001) (Della Corte 1921); for domestic space (de Vos 1991b)
[338] Especially because of CIL IV 4100 (*Fullo / Cresces / Coponi Sal)*
[339] (Della Corte 1921)

Della Corte's evidence, is problematic. Sogliano's reading of this graffito is quite different from Della Corte's (*Fullo/ Cresces/ [ ] nis/ [salute]),*[340] which throws the latter's argument into question. He suggests by contrast that Crescens the fuller was the owner of the house or at the very least, there was a relationship between the owner of the house and a group of fullers, who perhaps worked at nearby fullery VI.14.22.[341] Benefiel has proposed that the name Primus found in another graffito in the house (CIL IV 4119 *Primus Hic*) might be Marcus Vesonius Primus, the owner of the fullery located in that building.[342]

We must analyze all the evidence to understand the use of space rather than the content of the graffiti alone. I have already shown in the last chapter that an analysis of the space syntax of this house as well as of the distribution of graffiti suggests that this house was domestic space, not an inn. The content of the graffiti I have just described is typical of those found in other houses. The "male name" type of graffito, the most common type in my overall sample, proliferates in this house.[343] Greetings are also common. However, greetings from an individual to a group of citizens (Surrentines, Stabians) are rather rarer. Benefiel suggests that Crescens' greetings to these bodies of citizens could mean he visited their towns or they visited Pompeii.[344] She found that graffiti that mention cities in Campania are located in various places both public and private in both *hospitium* and *domus*. Whatever the occupation of the owner, it seems

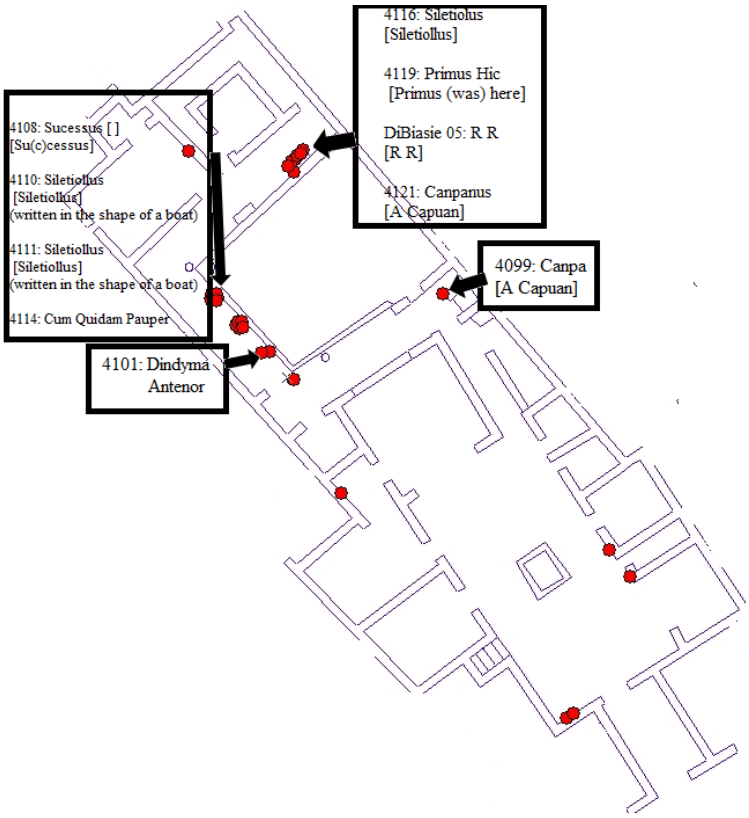
[340] (Sogliano 1884, 51)
[341] Ibid., 111
[342] (Benefiel, 231)
[343] CIL IV 4095, 4105, 4108, 4110, 4111, 4113, 4115, 4116, 4117, 4119
[344] (Benefiel, 137)

likely that inhabitants from several cities would have made their way to the peristyle of this house. Perhaps the owner was a businessperson or trader with interests in nearby cities.

It is significant that Crescens reserves his greetings for different groups in different parts of the peristyle. Greetings to an individual (*caupo*, if this is the correct reading) and groups of citizens appear on the columns to the south of the peristyle while the graffiti to the fullers only appear on the northernmost column on the southwest side. It follows that Crescens wrote these greetings to the fullers in areas they frequented and would be likely to see them. Perhaps the fullers were accustomed to visit or dine in rooms 16 and 17 in the back of the house.

In addition to the graffiti by Crescens, there are several other names in this same peristyle including Primus (4119), Siletiollus (4110, 4111, 4116),[345] Successus (4108) and Narcissus (4105). These may have been fellow fullers, but not necessarily. The following are the other graffiti found in the peristyle, most of which are of the single male name type:

[345] = Langner 18-20



4099: Canpa<nus>
[A Capuan]

4101: Dindyma
Antenor
[Dindyma, Antenor]

4108: Suc<c>essus [ ]
[Successus]

4110: Siletiollus
(written in the shape of a boat)
[Siletiollus]

4111: Siletiollus
(written in the shape of a boat)
[Siletiollus]

4114:[346] Cum quidam pauper
[When a certain poor man…]

4116:[347] Siletiol<l>us
[Siletiollus]

4119:[348] Primus hic
[Primus (was) here]

DiBiasie 05:[349] R R
[R R]

4121:[350] Canpanus
[A Capuan]

The graffiti in this peristyle exemplify a popular trope within the genre: word play. Graffiti writers were not solely concerned with the subject of their messages, but also with their style (See Chapter Four). Playfulness, especially with one's name, is seen in graffiti throughout the city. In other parts of the city, Crescens (or perhaps several writers with the name Crescens) was particularly fond of writing his name in the shape of a boat. Although Crescens refrains from the habit in this particular house, Siletiollus seems to be imitating his style and inscribes his own name as a boat in two graffiti (CIL IV 4110, 4111).

[346] Cf. CIL IV 2386, 3067, 3136
[347] 4110 and 4116 are spelled differently; found and photographed June 2013; see **Figure 125** for line drawing;
[348] Found and photographed June 2013; see **Figure 126** for line drawing and **Figures 127-128** for photographs
[349] Found and photographed June 2013; see **Figure 129** for drawing and **Figure 130** for photograph
[350] Found and photographed June 2013; see **Figure 131** for drawing and **Figure 132** for photograph

Two famous inscriptions found on paintings in the triclinium located in the back of this peristyle. The first was *painted* on a painting of a banquet scene on the north wall, currently in the Naples Museum.

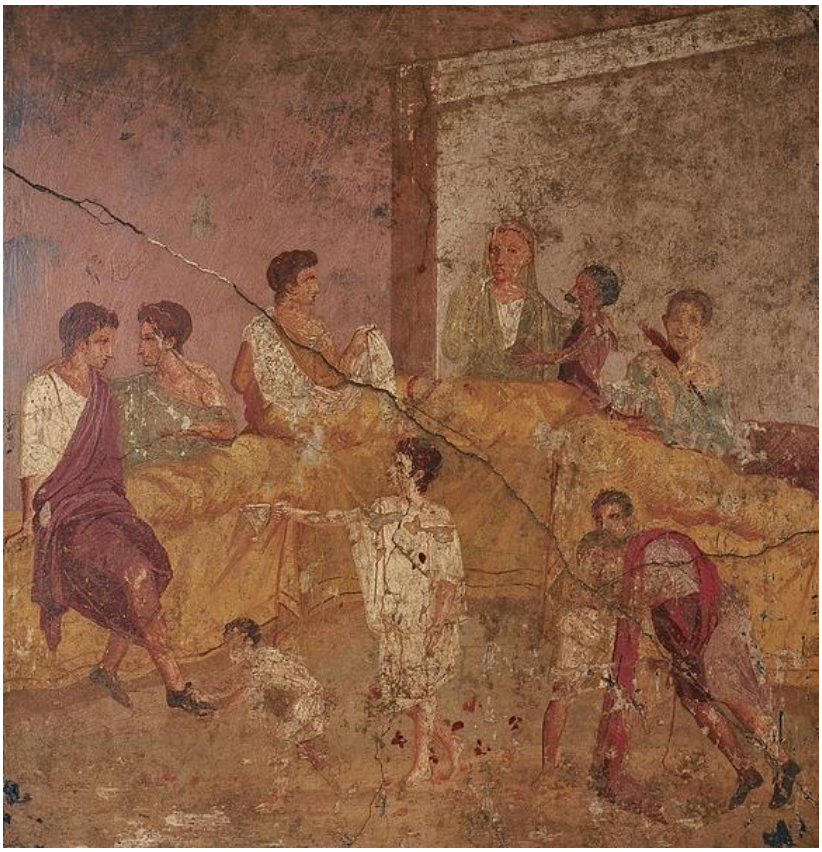
3442: Facitis · vobis · suaviter · ego canto
est · ita · valeas
[you guys, have a good time; I sing; so it is, be well!]

(Illustration 5.1: V.2.4 *Triclinium* north wall from (Clarke 2003, plate 22)

And on the east wall was found *inscribed*:

4123: Scio
valetis
isisa[351]
bibo
[I know; you all be well; ?; I drink]

[351] This word is debated. Roller suggests, "B (perhaps IS) and O, widely spaced." (Roller 2006, 74)



(Illustration 5.2: V.2.4 *Triclinium* east wall from (Clarke 2003, plate 21)

It is important to note the difference in the type of inscription reflected in these two images. The first inscription is painted and seems to have been composed with the image.[352] By contrast, the second inscription (CIL IV 4123) was inscribed on the image and therefore presumably was composed after the image. It is likely that the author saw the painted caption of CIL IV 3442 and decided to add captions to the second painting as well.

The interpretation of these paintings is varied. Previous interpretations of the cycle included a reading of the stages of the drinking party (Sogliano) or the seasons

[352] (Clarke 2003, 243)

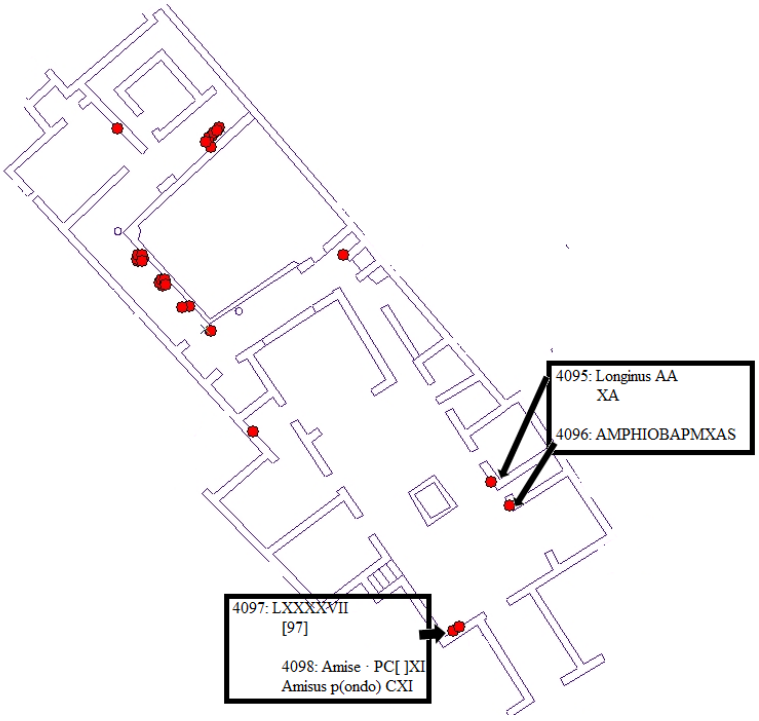
(Claridge and Ward-Perkins).[353] John Clarke believes the paintings reflect the tastes of the owner, who had the paintings custom-made for this house. The first painting, on which CIL IV 4123 was written, depicts the symposium, complete with amorous undertones. The patron, according to Clarke, is the bald man in the center of the scene; the remaining figures are portraits of his friends.

The painting on the north wall, on which CIL IV 3442 was painted, depicts the *commissatio,* the male-female drinking party. On the right couch the bald man, the owner, is again depicted. This time he is nude to the waist and holding a silver cup. The first line of the inscription comes from his mouth (*facitis vobis suaviter ego canto*) to which someone else, perhaps, responds (*est ita valeas*). Clarke suggests that the scenes deviate from typical banquet scenes in order to portray the owner, perhaps from scenes from real life.[354] Unfortunately, nothing in the painting hints at the occupation of the owner, which might have given some clues to the meaning behind the graffiti. If Clarke's interpretation is correct, there is nothing in the paintings to suggest a deviation from typical norms, other than the owner portraying himself and his friends rather than idealized Greek-style scenes. The owner of the house fashioned paintings that portrayed him taking part in typical and high-status social behaviors that may have taken place in the very room in which they were painted. Perhaps, the portraiture in paintings showing the owner participating in correct social behaviors indicates he has recently attained such status (and therefore wants to show it off).

[353] (Clarke 2003, 241)
[354] Ibid., 245

There are other graffiti in the house apart from those in the peristyle, including several in the *atrium.* Of the 33 graffiti in this house, however, only four appear in this space. The predominance of graffiti in the peristyle strongly suggests that this house was not an inn, where the majority of graffiti tend to be in the *atrium* (see VII.12.35 below). However, the paucity of graffiti in the *atrium* of a private house is also unusual. This may indicate that the *atrium* was not being used in a typical way. Perhaps the owner was a former fuller, without a substantial *clientela*, who received most of his guests in the peristyle (see VI.14.20 and I.4.5). It is impossible to know for sure but the lack of typical graffiti in the *atrium* indicates a deviation of the norm that may reflect some change of social practice or use of this space.

The types of graffiti found in the *atrium* are typical, including numerical graffiti, commercial graffiti, and male names; it is common to find numeral graffiti there (see especially house V.1.18). These indicate counting of some nature, whether people or things. It is difficult to suggest who was doing this counting and what they were keeping track of but the general purpose of the inscription, record keeping, is clear. In the *atrium* were found:



4095: [355] Longinus AA
XA
[Longinus ?]

4096: [356] AMPHIOBAPMXAS
[?] [ἀμφί (on both sides/for the sake of) ?]

4097: LXXXXVII
[97]

4098: Amise · p(ondo?) C[ ]XI
[Amisus[357], (buy ___) with a weight of 111?]

In the room through which one enters the kitchen (room 4 on map)[358]:

[355] The "n" is written backwards.
[356] The "s" is written backwards. The meaning of this graffito is completely unclear. Given the backward letters in both CIL IV 4095 and 4096 (an uncommon feature in graffiti) and the XA at the end of both inscriptions, it is possible both are from the same author or respond to each other.
[357] If this is a name it is unattested in the CIL IV.
[358] See **Figure 33**

4122: Ca{pa}panus
[A Capuan?[359]]

This is perhaps from the same author as CIL IV 4121 (*Canpanus*), located in the peristyle. If by the same author, this graffito shows movement by the author between the spaces and utilization of both types of room as places for writing.

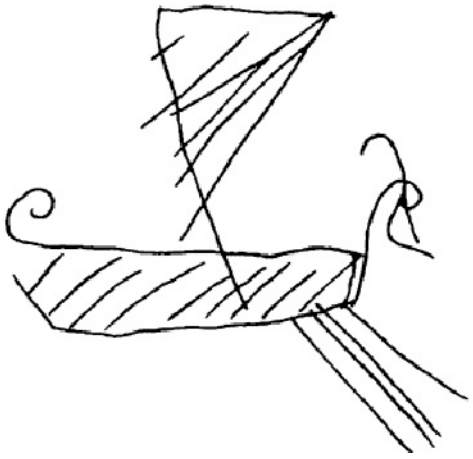
The presence of numeral and commercial graffiti in the *atrium* is a trend in many houses of my sample. This may indicate the use of the *atrium* as a place for business, keeping accounts, or delivering goods. The multifunctional nature and typically large size supports such activities.

Graffiti drawings are frequent in this house, both isolated and in connection with inscriptions. Drawings represented 7.5% of my overall sample, yet are found in 28% of the graffiti of this house. This elevated number of drawings is primarily the work of two authors, Crescens and Siletiollus, who composed six of the eight drawings. It is likely that the two individuals favored drawings as a way of expression. Further, the drawings of one individual may have inspired those of the other.

Several drawings or graffiti written as images were found in the peristyle. On a column in the peristyle was found:

[359] For Capuan suggestion see (Benefiel 2005, 167) This could also refer to M. Nonius Campanus (CIL IV 1711).

Langner 2046:[360] A drawing of a ship



(Illustration 5.3: Langner 2046 from (Langner 2001))

The ship is analogous to three graffiti of the name Siletiollus written in the shape of ships found on other columns of the peristyle (CIL IV 4110, 4111, and 4116).[361] This is a common trope; Langner records 21 examples of *Buchstabenschiffen* from Pompeii alone (and, therefore, 1/7th of that total are found in this house). Further, a drawing of a male head is located next to CIL IV 4120 (*Cresces fullonibus salutem / hic est ubi*). The caricature wears a cap and likely represents Crescens himself.

Other drawings that accompany textual graffiti include a small drawing of an owl with CIL IV 4112 (*Cresces · fullonibus ullulaque canont*).[362] This type of illustrative drawing is rarer than isolated drawings. Typically, drawings appear on their own and unconnected with textual graffiti. Another owl is found accompanying CIL IV 4118

[360] See **Figure 133**
[361] None are extant.
[362] There is no drawing of this owl or photograph and it is longer extant.

(*Ulula est / Cresces • fullonibus • et • ululae • suae • sal*).[363] The owl appears to the right of the first line, which was written in another hand. This graffito exemplifies Benefiel's model of the dialogic nature of graffiti.[364] Crescens wrote his greeting, which was responded to in textual and pictorial form by another writer. In this case, the drawing is essential for understanding the meaning of the text.

The graffiti of this house both exemplify the typical distribution pattern of graffiti within domestic space and give nuance to this pattern. Although access analysis and the types of graffiti represented in this sample are typical of domestic space, the content of the graffiti showed the different audiences addressed within the house. The peristyle is a popular space for graffiti writing, but different areas were reserved for different groups of readers. The presence of numerous drawings in the house exemplifies the dialogic and emulative quality of much graffiti writing. Further, the content of the graffiti provides evidence that this house was not an inn, as it has sometimes been called, but was instead domestic space. Finally, this house has shown the necessity for multi-faceted examination of Pompeian domestic space. By examining the content of the graffiti, I am able to further clarify my previous understanding of the use of space based on archaeological inquiry alone.

[363] See **Figures 118-120**
[364] See Benefiel 2011

5.2 Casa dei Cubicoli Floreali (I.9.5)

This house is located off the Via dell'Abbondanza and is named for the lavishly decorated *cubicula* found in the home. It follows Mau's typical Pompeian house plan, although the peristyle in the back is small and does not allow for complete ambulation around its perimeter.[365] Further, because of limited space, the *atrium* and peristyle only have rooms on the eastern sides.

Moving into the house we find several graffiti in the *vestibulum* (room 1):

9994: Xxxx
(drawing of bearded man)
[40]

On the right pier of the *vestibulum*:

9995:[366] VIII CI A A
[8 ?]

In a room traditionally called a *cubiculum* (room 5 on the map) was found:[367]

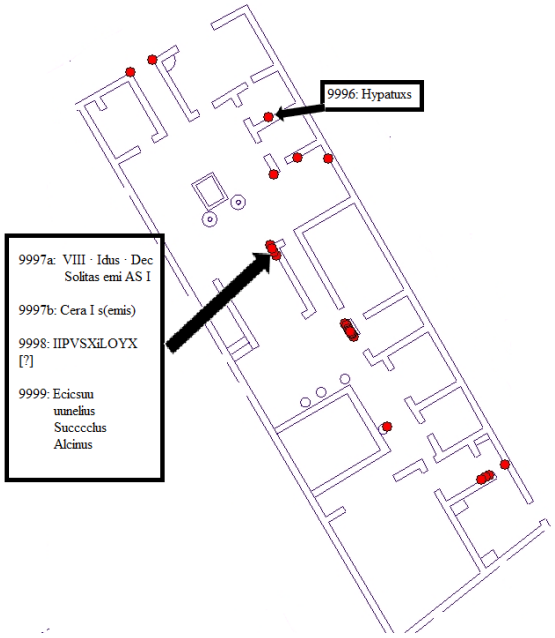
9996:[368] Hypatu{x}s
[Hypatus]

The identification of this room as a *cubiculum* seems fairly secure. The mosaic, which has a delineated couch area, and the lavish garden paintings are suggestive of *cubiculum* decoration. This room, however, could have been closed off from house I.9.5 and used solely with the taberna I.9.6. Graffiti in *cubicula* are rather rare, though *cubicula* connected with businesses (whether *cellae meretriciae* or *cellae/cubicula* connected to

[365] See **Figure 30**
[366] See **Figure 134** (Della Corte, M. and Ciprotti, P. 1972)
[367] See **Figure 135** (de Vos 1990b, 10)
[368] Hypatus is known from a seal in Pompeii (CIL X 8059).

tabernae) may have had more graffiti, since the overall traffic was greater than in domestic *cubicula*.

Several graffiti were also found in the *tablinum* (room 8 on map):



9997a: VIII · Idus · Dec
solitas emi as I
(written in charcoal)
[December 6th, I bought the usual things (usual waxes?) for 1 as]

9997b: Cera(m) I s(emis)
(written in charcoal)
[1.5 unites of wax or 1 wax, ½]

9998: [369] EPVSXiLOYX
[?]

[369] This, CIL IV 9995, 9999, 10001, and 10002 appear to be in the same hand. All are very unclear and appear to be written by someone unfamiliar with Latin; see **Figure 136**.

9999:[370] Ecicsuu
uunelius
Succcclus[371]
Alcimus
[?]

It is significant that the commercial graffiti written in the *tablinum* (9997a-b) were written in charcoal, a perishable material that could have been erased easily, which would have been especially useful for tabulation. Many graffiti in Pompeii have been found written in charcoal and there were probably many more. Charcoal graffiti are particularly susceptible to environmental factors such as moisture and mold.

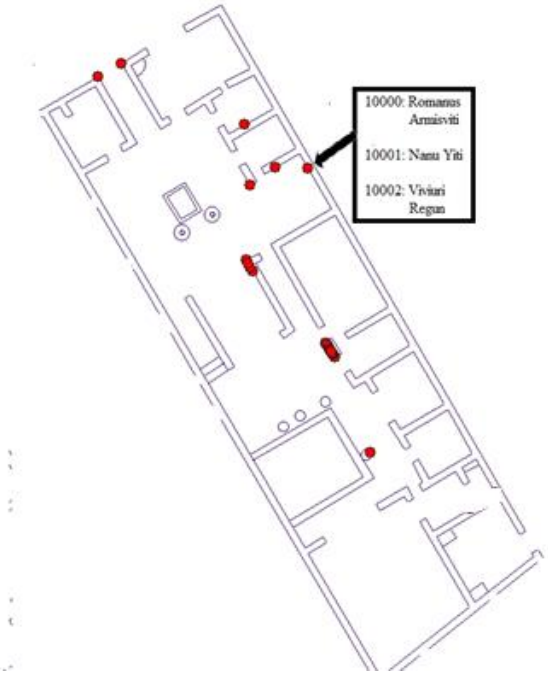
It is of interest that the *vestibulum* and the *tablinum* both contain numerals/commerce graffiti. These are the places where one might expect them, perhaps written by visitors waiting for entrance or by the members of the family or slaves keeping accounts. It appears that 9997a-b (*VIII • Idus • Dec solitas emi as I*; *Cera(m) I s(emis)*) record the purchase of wax tablets, although the record is incomplete. Since the verb is in the first person, it follows that whoever wrote these graffiti for record keeping purposes intended for it to serve as a reminder. Thus, the person who wrote it is likely either the owner of the house or a favored slave. Perhaps traveling salesmen visited clients in their homes to sell selected goods and were met at the door of the *tablinum*.

The meanings of the remaining graffiti are completely unclear. The line-drawing in the CIL is clear, but the letters do not seem to form any known Latin word. Perhaps

[370] See **Figure 137**
[371] CIL suggests *succubus* for line three

the author was only semi-literate or was writing in a system of abbreviation we cannot decipher now.

In the *ala* of the east wall:



10000:[372] Romanus
Armisviti (armis viti)
[Romanus/Roman with the arms of vice]

10001:[373] Nanu Yiti
(Manu? viti?)
[hand of vice?]

10002:[374] Ⱬiviuri
Ṛegunṭ
[? They rule]

[372] The CIL notes a possible Christian interpretation of this graffito (first advanced by Ciprotti) due to its similarity with Paul's letter to the Romans 6.13: μηδὲ παριστάνετε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν ὅπλα ἀδικίας τῇ ἁμαρτιᾳ, ἀλλὰ παραστήσατε ---τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν ὅπλα δικαιοσύνηστῷ Θεῷ. See also Ciprotti, *Miscellanea Antonio Piolanti* (1964). This interpretation, without the presence of corroborating evidence, seems to me to be a stretch.
[373] See **Figure 138**
[374] See **Figure 139**

CIL IV 10001-10002 seem to have been written by the same author of the unclear inscriptions of the *tablinum*. Again, the letters are unclear and do not resemble anything Latinate. It is difficult to suggest any interpretation for these graffiti, let alone contextualize them, since the meaning is so unclear.

Graffiti in *alae* are relatively infrequent among my overall sample (2%), even though typologically the *ala* was one of the most open and connected areas of the house. In addition, *alae* are relatively easy to identify as a room type,[375] so there is little chance that graffiti in these spaces were attributed in the *CIL* to a room like a *cubiculum*. The function of these spaces is unclear. Room assemblages give few clues about the use of the space,[376] and the word *ala* is not mentioned by a writer other than Vitruvius.[377] Even Mau is left without a clear answer for the function of this area.[378]

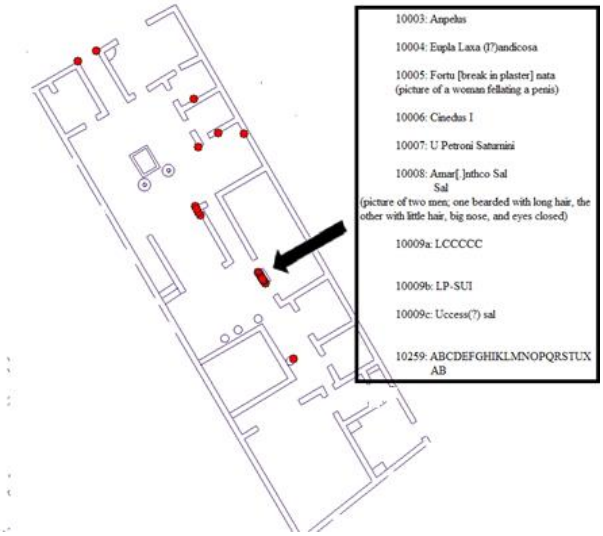
I suggest two possible reasons for the paucity of graffiti in these accessible, visually controlled areas of the house. One, the lack of graffiti in the area is due to a dearth of activity in the rooms either because they were used for utilitarian functions like storage or because they served for display of items like portrait busts (although these are typically thought to be located in the *atrium*). These functions might not encourage movement and congregation into the rooms even though they were some of the most open and easily accessible in many houses. A second and possibly related hypothesis is that the function or use of the room prohibited easy access to the walls for the writers to

[375] In general, rooms identified by excavators as *alae* or the "wings" of the house are medium sized spaces located off the *atrium* that are open (i.e. without a significant threshold) to the *atrium*.
[376] (Allison 1997)
[377] (Leach 1997)
[378] (Mau 1904, 258)

compose the graffiti. If these rooms were used to store goods in large chests, for example, perhaps would-be graffiti writers found it difficult to inscribe messages. In her study of the *alae* of Regio VI, Cova found built-in cupboards as a feature in 12.8% of her sample.[379] These cupboards would certainly have restricted access to the wall plaster and thus limited graffiti writing.

It may be significant that the two houses in my study that had graffiti in an *ala* (I.9.5 and VI.13.19) both had messages inscribed on only one side of the space. This may indicate that writers favored one side as they were blocked from writing on the other. Another possible explanation is that the sunlight was greater on the north walls during the day, which promoted writing in that area.[380]

Turning to the peristyle, we find multiple graffiti on a single pilaster:[381]



[379] (Cova 2015, 77)
[380] See (Benefiel 2011, 31) for a similar explanation for the cluster in Room 9 of the House of the Four Styles.
[381] See **Figure 140** for a photograph of this pilaster (de Vos 1990b, 45)

10003: [382] Anpelus
[Ampelus]

10004 [383] Eupl(i)a laxa ļandicosa
[Euplia with a loose clitoris]

10006: [384] Cin(a)edus I
[sodomite]

10007:[385] P Petroni Saturnini
[of Petronius Saturninus]

Above a mirror:

10005: [386] Fortu [break in plaster] nata
(sketch of a woman fellating a penis)
[Fortunata][387]

To the right of the mirror:

10008: [388] Amaranth{c}o sal(utem)
sal(utem)
(Sketch of two men; one bearded with long hair, the other with little hair, a big nose, and eyes closed)
[Greetings to Amaranthus]

Below the mirror:

10009a: LCCCCC
[550]

---

[382] See **Figure 141** (de Vos 1990b, 45) (I have correctly reversed this photograph which was reversed in the PPM)
[383] See **Figure 142**; This Euplia is probably a prostitute. Cf. CIL IV 2310b and 5048 *Euplia f(ellat) a(ssibus) V*. Note: the photograph of this graffito in PPM (page 45) has been reversed so it reads backwards.
[384] See **Figure 143**
[385] Probably Gaius Petronius Saturninus, known from seals from Pompeii (CIL X 8055, 31)
[386] See **Figure 144** and **145**
[387] Fortunata is also a name found in many brothel graffiti. Cf. CIL IV 8185 *Fortunata a(eris) a(ssibus) II* (with drawing)
[388] If *Amarntho* instead of *Amaranthco*: Amaranthus is an attested cognomen of two Pompeian families. Gaius Arrius Amarantus was a witness on CIL IV t.59 and Numerius Popidius Amarantus a witness on tablets from 55-58 AD; See **Figure 146**

10009b: [389] Ḷ P-SUI
[?]

10009c: [390] [S]uccesso ṣal(utem)
[? Says hello to Successus]

10259: ABCDEFGHIKLMNOPQRSTUX
AB

On the middle column of the peristyle:
10010: R^U[..] R^U[ ]H I

Most of the graffiti in this peristyle cluster around a black obsidian mirror set into the wall plaster. This mirror may seem spectacular, but is not unheard of in Pompeii. [391] In fact, Pliny the elder advocates for the use of obsidian as mirrors.[392] The number of mirrors at Pompeii, especially given the number of others that may not have survived due to their fragility, suggests that they were popular.

The ten graffiti surrounding this mirror indicate it was a popular point of congregation. People wrote graffiti around it, as they knew it was a frequented spot visited by others within the house. However, an examination of the content of the graffiti indicates a dialogic relationship between the writers.

[389] See **Figure 147**
[390] See **Figure 148**
[391] House IX.7.19, appropriately called the Casa dello Specchio, had one embedded in the right wall as one enters the *atrium* (no longer extant). House I.7.11, the Casa dell'Efebo, also has a mirror in the east wall of the *atrium*, inserted into the plaster (still extant). Finally, House VI.16.7, the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, also has a mirror in the east and south walls of the peristyle, at eye level. (Anguissola 2012, 41)
[392] *In genere vitri et obsiana numerantur ad similitudinem lapidis, quem in Aethiopia invenit Obsius, nigerrimi coloris, aliquando et tralucidi, crassiore visu atque in speculis parietum pro imagine umbras reddente* (Naturalis Historia 36, LXVII).

To the left of the mirror is *Ampelus*, which some have suggested is a typical servile name.[393] Two sexual graffiti follow below it. The first, CIL IV 10004 includes *landicosa*, derived from *landica* (clitoris), a word too explicit even for Juvenal. Euplia also appears to be a slave name and appears in two prostitution graffiti.[394] Immediately below that is *cinaedus* (sexual pathic). The graffito above the mirror continues the sexual message, with the name Fortunata and a drawing of her fellating. Fortunata is a name found in several prostitution graffiti in Pompeii.[395] Perhaps the Fortunata drawn here was indeed a prostitute or perhaps not, in which case the *fellatio* caricature would be even more damning. Calling a woman a *fellatrix* was a serious insult; only an *infamis* could perform the act with impunity.[396]

To the right of the mirror is a greeting to Amaranthus, along with two drawings. The heads are simply drawn in profile, but differ in stylistic features. One has long hair, large ears, a beard, and a sharp pointy nose. The other has just five hairs pointing from the top of his head, squinty eyes, and a huge nose. Funari has completed much work on graphic caricature within the graffiti at Pompeii and through an analysis of literary sources has identified the meaning behind some of the stylistic features employed in the drawings. He suggests that features of the bearded man including the beard and long ears indicate youth and attentiveness while the characteristics of the other man, baldness and

[393] (de Vos 1990b) See also the tomb of the Varii from Isola Sacra which includes a freedman, Ampelus. (Petersen 2006) (Solin 1996, 512)
[394] (Solin 1996, 559)
[395] CIL IV 2259 (*Fortunata fellat)*, CIL IV 2275 (*Fortunata fellat)*, CIL IV 8034 (*Fortunata/ a(ssibus) XXIII)*, CIL IV 8185 (*Mula fellat. [A]ntoni?/ Fortunata a(eris) a(ssibus) II)*
[396] (Clarke 1998, 222)

uncombed hair, indicate senility and carelessness.[397] Perhaps the greetings between Amaranth[c]us and the author is between a younger man and an older man, exemplified in the caricatures.

Below the mirror are several other graffiti including an alphabet. The low height of the graffito could indicate the presence of a child, though it need not. Several other alphabets appear quite high on the wall, too high to be written by a child.[398] Alphabets seem to demonstrate a fondness for playing with language, an aspect of Pompeian graffiti writing present in many of the houses in my corpus. Finally, CIL IV 10009c (*Uccess(?) sal*) continues the message-board aspect of much graffiti writing, evident throughout many of the houses.

The number of graffiti around this mirror indicates that it was a place of congregation and ambulation. Although the peristyle was small, it still functioned as a normal peristyle, as the concentration of graffiti indicate.[399] This differentiates this house from House V.2.g, where the abnormal distribution of graffiti indicates its small peristyle was not used in a normal way. The distribution of graffiti around the mirror indicates that unusual spatial points of interest could draw attention and foot traffic.

The presence of so many sexual graffiti is unusual. These are defamatory and seem to reference known prostitutes. I suggest the reason for their placement in this area of the house is the high traffic, visibility, and accessibility of the area. As is obvious from the pictures, the graffiti are quite large, enhancing visibility.

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[397] (Funari 1993)
[398] See House I.6.4. See (Benefiel 2012, 70)
[399] See Chapter Three

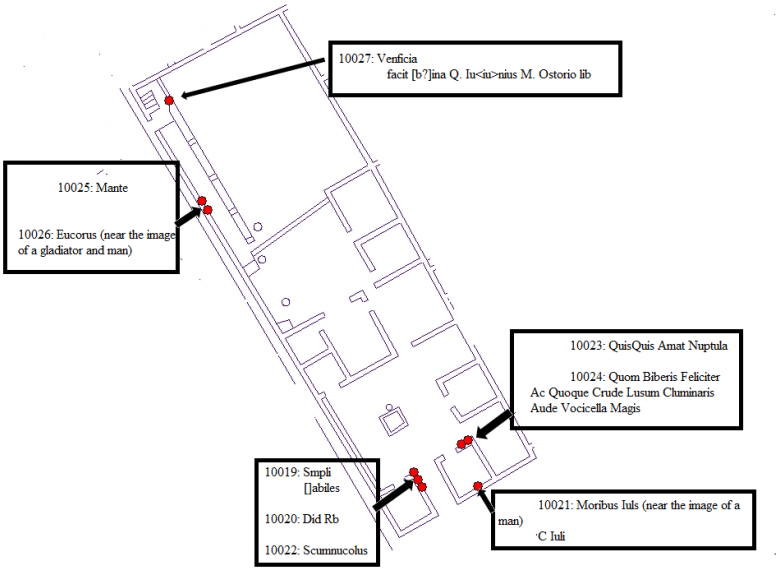
The drawing next to CIL IV 10005 of Fortunata further elucidates Fortunata's profession to anyone viewing it. The presence of sexual graffiti in a domestic space might seem counterintuitive to some, but ancient attitudes towards sexuality were very different from modern ones.[400] Moreover, the mirror itself could have encouraged this conglomeration of sexual messages. As Rabun Taylor points out, men who spent too much time in front of the mirror could be labeled effeminate.[401]

In general, this house demonstrates the typical graffiti distribution with a majority in the peristyle and some in the *atrium* and the rooms around the *atrium*. However, the graffiti in the peristyle concentrate, largely, around a distinctive architectural object due to its heightened visibility and traffic to the area. This concentrated traffic is even more natural since the peristyle itself was partial and did not permit ambulation on all sides.

5.3 Casa di Cerere (I.9.13)

This house has the fewest graffiti of those in my corpus. However, the diversity of rooms that contain graffiti makes it a useful object of study. There are three graffiti in the *vestibulum* (room 1 on map):[402]

[400] (Clarke 1998, 14) among other
[401] (Taylor 2008, 22)
[402] See **Figure 49**



10019: [403] S(e)mpe[r]
[ ]tuabileș
[?]

10020:[404] DID RB
[CIL reconstruction: d(uumvirum) i(ure) d(icendo) by the proclamation of the duumviri?]

10022:[405] Scumnucolus
[?, perhaps a dimunitive of Scymnus?]

In a room typically labeled a *cubiculum* to the east of the *vestibulum* (room 8 on the plan):[406]

10021:[407] Moribus Iuli(i)s (near the image of a man)
C Iuli
[with the Iulian manners, Gaius Iulius]

[403] Found and photographed June 2013; See **Figures 149** and **150** for photographs see **Figure 151** for line drawing
[404] Found and photographed June 2013; See **Figures 152** and **153** for photographs; see **Figure 154** for line drawing
[405] CIL suggests Scymnicolus
[406] See **Figure 155** (de Vos 1990b, 191)
[407] Found and photographed June 2013; See **Figures 156** and **157** for photographs; see **Figure 158** for line drawing

It is unclear who Gaius Iulius is though possibly he is an imperial freedman. The room that contained this graffito is most likely a *cubiculum*. Plaster casts of the furniture are still on display there today. The two windows on the south side are high, slit-type windows for privacy.

In the *atrium* appear the following:[408]

10023: Quisquis amat nuptula(m)
[Whoever loves the little bride]

10024:[409] Quom biberis feliciter ac quoque crude
lusum clumi̯aris aude voci{ci}lla ṃagis
Reconstruction (Cugusi):[410] ructa quom biberis felicter ac quoque crude
(c)lusum clune[m ape]ris voci{ci}lla magis
[(barf up) when you drink, happily and also vigorously; you open the closed butt more with a little sound]

CIL IV 10023, in the *atrium*, is a particular poetic graffito type prevalent in Pompeii. "*Quisquis amat*" appears more than 12 times in the city, but not in canonical poetry.[411] Milnor suggests that the popularity of the text caused it to be used almost like a "tag," similar to the first words of the Aeneid, *arma virumque cano*, which were often reproduced on the walls of the city. It was also found painted on a scroll in a panel painting, which could indicate an effort to elevate this local poetry to the place of canonical literature.[412] Alternatively, these could be lines of some famous poem lost now. It is appropriate, then, that such a line is inscribed in the *atrium* for maximum visibility. The graffito below it begins with fairly similar opening words, "*quom biberis*."

[408] See **Figure 159**
[409] See **Figure 160** Possibly a word such as *ructa* as hypothesized by Della Corte should be inserted at the beginning in order to form a hexameter
[410] (Cugusi 2008)
[411] (Milnor 2009, 302)
[412] Ibid.

Drinking and love are certainly two of the most common themes in poetry in Pompeii, as these two examples demonstrate.

In the *viridarium*:

10025: Man^te
[Mantus]

10026:[413] Eucorus
(near the images of a gladiator and a man's head)
[Eucorus? Eucolus?]

In the small room at the back of the *viridarium* (room 16 on plan):[414]

10027:[415] Veneficia
facit ḍina Q. Iu{iu}nius M(arco). Ostorio lib(erto?)
[Quintus Iunius made potions twice for Marcus Ostorius, freedman]

The small concentration of graffiti in the peristyle may be due to its unusual arrangement. It only permits walking on the west side and the walk is a steep uphill climb to the back of the house and back door. The lack of popular ambulation areas may have resulted in a less dense concentration of graffiti in this area.

The graffito in the back of the house is located in a service room near the back door. The room has a cistern below and is small with little natural light. Even in full daylight, it was very difficult to see the graffito, though it is large (24 cm across). The message seems to indicate the practice of potion making for a freedman. Given the servile character of the room, it is possible that a slave wrote this graffito. No other

[413] Neither Eucorus or Eucolus are otherwise attested in Pompeii.
[414] See **Figure 161** (copyright Jackie and Bob Dunn pompeiiinpictures.com)
[415] Found and photographed June 2013; see **Figures 162** and **163**. Cf. CIL IV 6895 (*Q Iunius);* a Publius Ostorius appears as a gladiator in CIL IV 2508

graffito that I know of from Pompeii mentions potions. Furthermore, the appellation of freedman (*lib*) is rare in graffiti, though common in other types of inscriptions.

Finally, in a small room off the *tablinum* (room 12) several sketches were painted on the preparation layer of the plaster.[416] These sketches are not graffiti per se but do resemble it in form and content. On the preparation layer of the plaster was drawn a Corinthian column, probably a practice drawing for the final fresco.[417] Below and to the side of it were several gladiators.

In general, the graffiti in this house conform to the *atrium*-peristyle distribution pattern. Notable exceptions are the graffito in the cistern room/service area at the rear of the peristyle and the *cubiculum* attached to the *atrium*. The atypical locations are reflected in the content of the messages; both are unique in the Pompeian record. This reflects, to some extent, the process of expectations of writing in the Pompeian house. Overall, writers of graffiti in the *atrium* and peristyle use the wall plaster to serve as a message board, as scratch paper, or as a place to draw attention to oneself or someone else. Graffiti for other purposes, by contrast, often avoid these traditional locations.

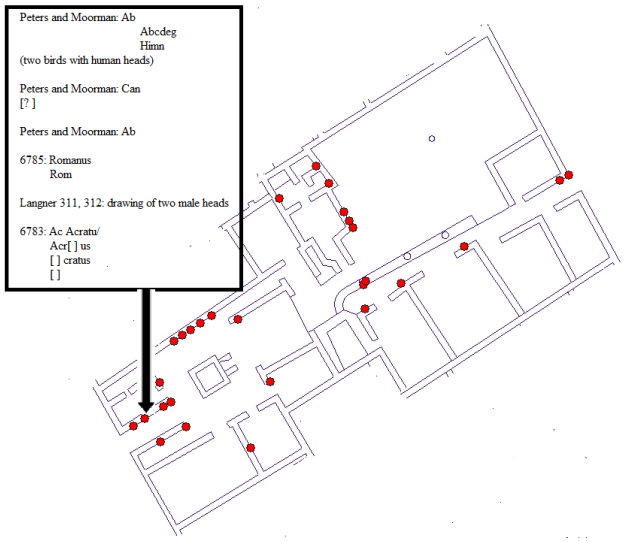
5.4 Casa di Marco Lucrezio Frontone (V.4.a)[418]

The owner of this house has traditionally been identified as Marcus Lucretius Fronto because of the number of *programmata* and graffiti for Fronto on its façade as

[416] See **Figures 164** and **165** (de Vos 1990c, 223)
[417] Ibid., 222
[418] Many thanks to Cameron Wells for his assistance in locating and photographing the graffiti in this house

well as a graffito in the peristyle CIL IV 6796: *M · Lucretius · Fronto · vir · fortis/ et · ho[nestus?]*.[419] Identifying house owners is usually problematic but the confluence of *programmata* on the façade and this graffito in the peristyle makes the identification more likely than most. House V.4.a. has a mixture of graffiti in several spaces within the house with much greater distribution among rooms than is typical.

The *vestibulum* (room 1)[420] contains several graffiti:



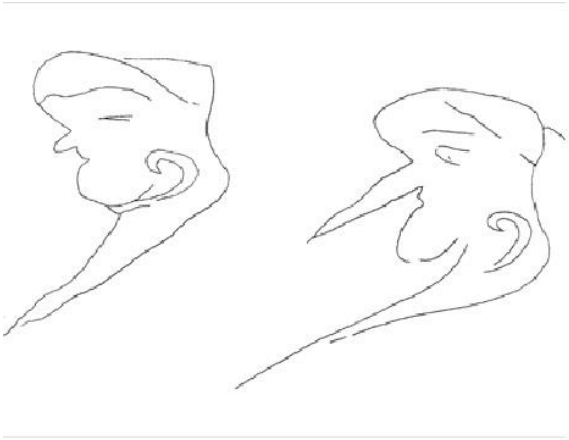
Peters and Moorman:[421] Ab
Abcdeg
Himn
(two birds with human heads)
[Abcdeghimn] (partial abecedarium)

Peters and Moorman:[422] Can
[?]

[419] CIL IV 6625 (*[M. Lu]cretium Frontonem/ AED vicini rogamus)*, 6626 (*Si · pudor · in vita quicquam · prodesse · putatur/ Lucretius · hic · Fronto · dignus · honore · bono · est)*
[420] See **Figure 166**
[421] = Peters and Moorman 1993, 383
[422] = Peters and Moorman 1993, 384

Peters and Moorman:[423] Ab
(beginning of another abecedarium?)

6784: Romanus
Rom
[Roman/Romanus]



(Illustration 5.4: Langner 311, 312, drawing of two male heads from (Langner 2001))

6783: [424] Ac Acratu(s)/
Acrạṭus
Ạcratus
[ ]
[Acratus/ Acratus/ Acratus]

The back door of the house (room 22) contains two more: [425]

[423] Ibid.
[424] Cf. CIL IV 1613 *(Accratus)*, 3908 *(Acrate Va, Acr [ ] Va)*, 6864 *(Optume maxime/ Iupiter dom(in)us omni potes/ Acratus servo (*pro servus) *nequam)*. CIL IV 6864, if referring to the same Acratus, suggests he is a slave.
[425] See **Figure 167**

6802: [426] Sa{s}turni
[of Saturnus]

6803: [427] Corint(h)us
[Corinthus]

In the *atrium*,[428] we find several graffiti, again mostly single male names along the northwest wall. Most appear in the dado rail or right above it in the black wall plaster. The grouping of the graffiti on only one side of the *atrium* is peculiar. However, the threshold along the northern side of the *tablinum* may indicate the presence of doors.[429] If the doors in the *tablinum* were closed the only pathway to the rear of the house would have been the hallway (room 10), which was also located on the west side. This was consequently the most trafficked part of the *atrium*.

[426] Cf. CIL IV 1746, 7072; See **Figure 168**
[427] Found and photographed June 2014. See **Figures 169** and **170**; Cf. CIL IV 1564, 4620, 5161, 7025
[428] See **Figure 171**
[429] See **Figure 172**. Door hinges were also found in this room (Allison, Pompeian Households: An On-line Companion 2004).

6785: [430] Xustus
[Xystus]

6786: [431] Iucundus
Grat[ ]a[ ]e saluteṃ
[Iucundus says hello to Grata]

6787: [432] Iucundus
[Iucundus]

6788: [433] Attinulus
[Attinulus]

6789: [434] L Varius Cacaistus
[Lucius Varius Cacaistus]

6790: [435] HTOƐHIΘ Ϝ
[?]

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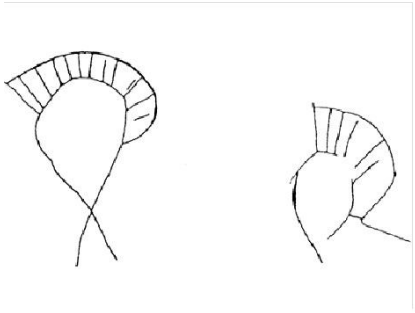
[430] Cf. CIL IV 1458, 1459a, 4440, 5235
[431] Found and photographed June 2014. See **Figure 173**
[432] See **Figure 174**
[433] See **Figure 175**
[434] See **Figure 176**. This is the only attestation of the cognomen in the Pompeian graffiti. It is possible the name is a Latinized form of the Greek adjective κακιστος.
[435] See **Figure 177**

Peters and Moorman:[436] Avivus
[?]

Langner 378-379: Drawing of gladiators, male heads



(Illustration 5.5: Langner 378-379 from (Langner 2001))

The single-name graffiti, like CIL IV 6785-89 (*Xystus, Iucundus, Iucundus, Attinulus, Cacaistus)* are typical for an *atrium* space. The meaning of CIL IV 6790 is completely unclear.

There is a graffito in the small room off the right side of the *atrium* (room 8 on plan).[437] This room has traditionally and plausibly been called a *cubiculum*,[438] on the basis of the exquisite fourth style decoration coupled with the small windows and a door threshold indicating the presence of a lockable door. In this room, there is one graffito:

6793: VII k(alendas) aug(ustas)
[July 26th]

[436] = Peters and Moorman 1993, 385
[437] See **Figure 43** and **178**
[438] (de Vos 1991b, 996).

One may perhaps not expect dates or economic graffiti in a *cubiculum*. However, as has been noted, the *cubiculum* was a multipurpose room suitable for many occasions like intimate meetings between associates.[439]

Another small room off the *atrium* (room 7) has one other graffito.[440] This room has also been traditionally identified as a *cubiculum* due to the wall paintings, though archaeological finds in the room suggest it was used as a utilitarian space in its final occupancy.[441] It features a red and yellow fourth style frieze with roundel portraits of children, including the famous image of a boy in the guise of Mercury.[442] Another painting represents Narcissus and a third, Pero with Micon.[443] Again, the room features high, narrow windows and a door threshold. In this room was found:

> 6792: [444] Marcus
> [Marcus]

This Marcus may refer to the proposed owner of the house, Marcus Lucretius Fronto. As I have shown, while names are not common in *cubicula* outside of *hospitia*, they do appear occasionally. It is also possible, though not necessary, that the graffito refers to

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[439] (Riggsby 1997)
[440] See **Figures 179-182**
[441] *Cubiculum* (Peters 1993) (Clarke 1991), utilitarian (Allison 2004)
[442] Ibid., 1000. There has been much discussion about the identity of the children in these portraits. Moorman suggests they are portraits of the dead children of the owner of the house. Clarke suggests this was a *cubiculum* for children. The other paintings in the room serve as "moral lessons." (Clarke 2003, 257)
[443] Ibid. The painting of Pero and Micon contains an elaborate painted epigram: *Quae parvis mater natis alimenta parabat/fortuna in patrios vertit iniqua cibos/ aevo dignum opus est. Tenui cervice seniles/ as[pice ia]m ut venae lacte me[ante micant./Admoto]q[ue] simul voltu fri(ca)t ipsa Miconum/ Pero tristis inest cum pietate pudor* (What food the small mother was furnishing her children, cruel fortune turned into food for the father, this deed is worthy for the ages. Look how the thin, aged veins in his neck now vibrate with the passing milk. At the same time, Pero herself strokes Micon with his face pressed against her. Sad shame is mixed with piety). See Milnor 2014 for a discussion of the connection between this epigram and pudor and the thematic connection between this epigram and the programmata located nearby.
[444] This graffito was not found or verified in June 2014. However, I did not have access to a ladder to examine closely.

the boy (his son?) depicted in the portraits, who may have perhaps slept in the room. Interestingly, Moorman records that this graffito was 3.34m from the ground, a very unusual height.[445] Most graffiti in my corpus range from 1.4-1.6m from the ground. It is possible that incorrect reconstruction of the wall plaster is the reason for the unusual height, but the room is in excellent condition and reconstruction of that area of the wall is minimal. The most probable explanation for this unusual height is that the writer wrote it while standing on furniture, perhaps a bed. The reason for doing so is completely unclear, especially as the message is neither salacious nor unusual. This location also makes the graffito less visible than most of the other graffiti in my corpus and in this house. Nevertheless, this graffito conforms to a trend in graffiti in atypical places: they tend to also be atypical in some other way (like height from the ground, content, or style) as well.

One graffito was found on the left pilaster of the *tablinum* facing the *atrium*:

6791: [446] ACMENOC
Asmenus
[Asmenus, Asmenus]

This is an example of a bilingual graffito of a name. Perhaps the author wanted to show his or her skill in both languages or possibly to appeal to readers of both.

[445] (Moorman 1993, 386)
[446] Found and photographed June 2014. For a similar Greek/Latin name, see CIL IV 8057. Moorman (Moorman 1993, 386) places this graffito in a *cubiculum*; this is incorrect (as I have confirmed through visual inspection). See **Figures 183** and **184**

This house has several graffiti in spaces that (at least in my corpus) do not typically contain graffiti. The kitchen (room 14) is a suite of rooms located off the peristyle.[447] On the west wall was found:

6801: [ ]auct
Helpis
Attico
(written in charcoal)
[?/Helpis to Atticus]

Though certainly not definite, these names have the possibility of belonging to slaves or freedmen.[448] The name Atticus reveals the Greek origin of many slaves, though the actual bearer of the name need not be Greek. A freedman and *augustalis*, Aulus Veius Atticus, appears as a witness on several tablets from Pompeii.[449] Another Atticus, Lucius Munucius Atticus, appears as an eighth witness (the sequence indicating his low status) on another tablet.[450] Helpis is also a name attested with freedwomen.[451] The location of these names in the kitchen makes such an identification more probable.

Other areas that typically do not contain graffiti include storage areas. The storeroom is located to the right of the *fauces* (room 3).[452] The identification of the room is secure; the room has numerous holes from shelving and still has the metal grate that protected it from intruders.[453] In this room was also a rectangular checkerboard drawing.[454] This checkerboard drawing could be a simple schematic drawing or perhaps

[447] See **Figures 185** and **186**
[448] (Solin 1996, 40, 555)
[449] (Castrén 1975, 235)
[450] (Castrén 1975, 192)
[451] See CIL VI 15459
[452] See **Figure 187**
[453] (de Vos 1991b, 982)
[454] = Peters and Moorman 1993, 386; See **Figure 188**

a record device or a game board. If it were a game board, it would be rather unusual as it is on a wall and would seem difficult to use, though perhaps charcoal could be used in a similar way to tic-tac-toe today. Several similar game board examples appear at Ostia, though all of much greater size.[455] Finally, two graffiti were found in the latrine in the house (room 15), the only two in the entire corpus found in this type of space:

A drawing of a phallus[456]

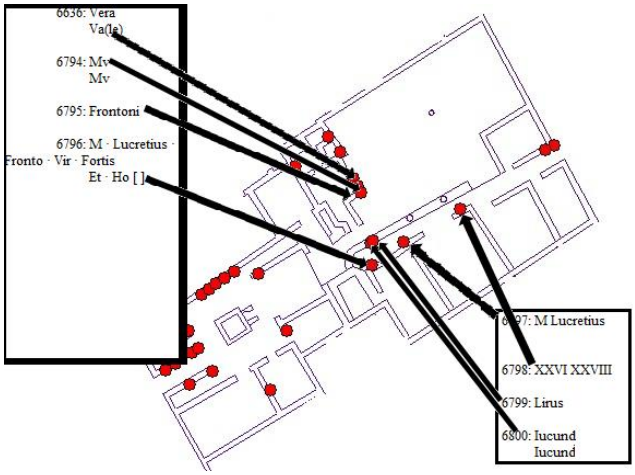
Drawings of two rectangles[457]

The sizes of the graffiti in the latrine differentiate them from typical graffiti in other space and mark them as unusual. The phallus is quite large, 20 cm high and 47 long.[458] Likewise, one of the rectangles is 32 cm high. The proliferation of graffiti in atypical spaces in this house, of which most are drawings, is unusual. It is likely that inhabitants of the house wrote graffiti in the service areas. The presence of graffiti mentioning names that may belong to slaves and several graffiti in service areas aligns this distribution to the results found by Baldwin et al. at the Villa San Marco.[459] As stated, in my corpus graffiti in service areas are rather rare with this house as an exception. This may indicate that people often visiting the service quarters had more of a proclivity towards graffiti writing and spent time in these areas. Further, the large proportion of drawings in these spaces and in the house overall is unusual. The sizes of

[455] http://www.ostia-antica.org/~graffiti/gr.htm; C.f. CIL IV 8173.
[456] = Peters and Moorman 1993, 387
[457] = Peters and Moorman 1993, 387
[458] (Moorman 1993, 387)
[459] (Baldwin, E., Moulden, H., and Laurence, R. 2013)

the graffiti in this room differentiate them from typical graffiti in other spaces and mark them as unusual.

This house also has a typical concentration of graffiti in the peristyle:



6636: [460] Vera
Va(le)
[Vera, goodbye]

6794: Mv
Mv
(written in charcoal)
[1005/ 1005[461]]

6795: Frontoni
(written in charcoal)
[To Fronto]

6796: [462] M · Lucretius · Fronto · vir · fortis
et · ho[nestus?]
(the *et ho* was erased in antiquity)
[Marcus Lucretius Fronto, a brave and honest man]

---

[460] Cf. CIL IV 1573 *(Eulalus · Ver(ae?)/ ubique / Eulalus · Hir [ ] / Eulalus · Mulierin · [ ] / Vevlale / Stm/ ire)*, 1574 *(Eulale bene · valeas / cum Vera tua coniuge/ et bene futue eam/ ?)*
[461] I thank Rabun Taylor for the suggestion of this translation.
[462] Found and photographed June 2014, vanishing; See **Figures 189-191**

6797: [463] M Lucretius · Lirus
[Marcus Lucretius Lirus]

6798: [464] XXVI XXVIII
[26; 28]

6799: [465] Lirus
[(Marcus Lucretius) Lirus]

6800: Iucund [ ]us[ ]
Iucund [ ]us[ ]
[Iucundus/ Iucundus]

The graffiti in the peristyle feature predominately male names and greetings. However, two of the names atypically include the *tria nomina* rather than the single male name. The reason for including the full name in these graffiti, which are located next to each other, is to distinguish these particular individuals, Lucretius Lirus and Lucretius Fronto, both of whom many believe have an association with the house.[466] Peters suspects that Lucretius Lirus was a family member or freedman who, while not living in the house, was in close relations with the family. Others, including Mouritsen, disagree and find the programmata and graffiti insufficient evidence for such claims.[467]

CIL IV 6796 (*M · Lucretius · Fronto · vir · fortis / et · ho [nestus]*) reads almost like a *programma* in its use of the *tria nomina* placed first and resembles *programma* CIL IV 6626 (*Si · pudor · in vita quicquam · prodesse · putatur/ Lucretius · hic · Fronto · dignus · honore · bono · est)* located on the façade of the house. *Programmata* are

[463] See **Figure 192**
[464] See **Figure 193**
[465] See **Figure 194**
[466] (Peters 1993, 411)
[467] (Mouritsen 1990, 139)

almost invariably located on the façades of houses and usually on busy streets.[468] Clearly, this graffito within the house has borrowed some of the same language from the genre of *programmata* to use in this other heavily trafficked area (the peristyle). However, apparently not all shared the author's opinion of Lucretius Fronto. The last line of the graffito (*et ho(nestus)*) was erased in antiquity. One can only hypothesize the reasons for such erasure. However, the lines were not erased as to be illegible, as in a *damnatio memoriae.* This partial erasure makes the act more damning, as readers could understand the message that no longer applied to Lucretius Fronto. It is unclear why Fronto, if he were the owner of the home, would allow the erasure to stand.

In general, this house conforms to the typical graffiti distribution with a majority of graffiti in the *atrium* and the peristyle. However, we see that the graffiti in the *atrium* concentrate on the west side, reflecting the walking patterns of inhabitants and guests. Further, the graffiti in the peristyle concentrate on the south and west walkways, again aligning with the walking areas of the space. Graffiti appear in other atypical spaces in this house: drawings appear in the latrine and storeroom and a textual graffito appears in the kitchen. Graffiti also appear in two of the possible *cubicula* in the house. Several of the graffiti in these atypical spaces are atypical in their content or location within the room as well. The graffiti in the latrine are much larger than usual and the graffito in one of the *cubicula* is much higher than usual. These graffiti lend further support to the suggestion that in houses with typical graffiti distributions, those that deviate from the normal pattern tend to be unusual in content or placement as well.

[468] (Viitanen 2013)

5.5 Casa Degli Epigrammi (V.1.18)[469]

This house is located in Regio V of Pompeii, of which seven *insulae* have been excavated. The region is predominantly composed of domestic spaces. The House of the Epigrams, constructed in the third-second century BC in a standard *atrium*-peristyle house plan, derives its name from the Greek epigrams on several wall paintings. Sixty-nine graffiti are recorded in this house, as well as two new graffiti that I discovered. This house fits the typical distribution model, with a preponderance of graffiti in the *atrium* and peristyle. Additionally, there is a wide variety of spaces in which graffiti were written, such as reception spaces (whether *triclinium* or *exedra*) and *cubicula*. Some of the rooms had thresholds with bolt holes that indicate the spaces could be locked if necessary.

The graffiti in the house are primarily textual, although there is one drawing as well. The most common type is numerals, but this is skewed due to a large set of numeric graffiti found in the *atrium*. In the *fauces* were found three graffiti including a fragment of the *Aeneid*.[470]

[469] Karin Lundqvist of the Swedish Pompeii Project has thoroughly documented these inscriptions. They can be found here: http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/inscriptions.php.
[470] (Cooley, A. and Cooley, M. 2014, 292) The *Aeneid* is by far the most popular source for literary quotations. Aeneid 1.1 appears at least 11 times; Aeneid 2.2 appears at least 14 times

4034: [471] Quartila
Fuficia
tu [ ] eriti co
filia
[Quartila Fuficia ? daughter]

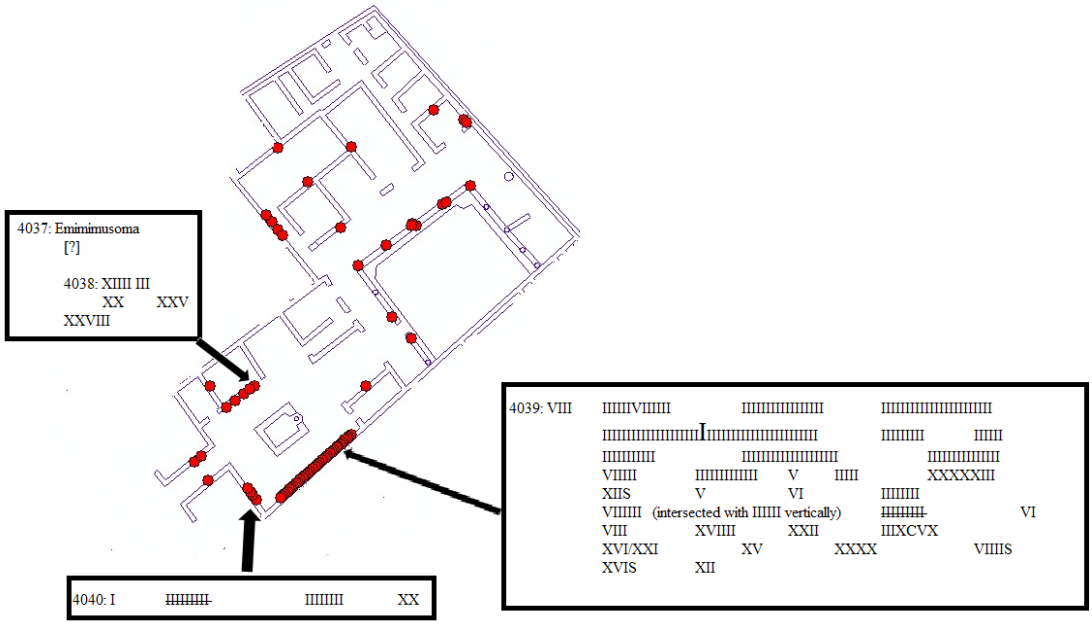
4035: [472] Quati
[he shakes?]

4036: [473] Conti[c]u[e]re o[mnes]
siqua
c [ ] atit quatit
[all were silent; ? shakes]

This house has a huge quantity of graffiti in the *atrium*, including a series of 32 numerical graffiti. These last were grouped together in the *CIL*, though it is impossible to

[471] The Fuficii are a gens attested in Puteoli and Pompeii. Fuficii at Pompeii include Aulus Fuficius Certus (CIL IV 8038, t.112), Marcus Fuficius Fuscus (t. 112) and Fuficius Ianuarius (CIL IV 1435). (Castrén 1975, 169)
[472] Aeneid II.1.
[473] Aeneid II.1. I could find no instance of *quatit* in the Aeneid preceded by a verb.

tell if they were written in the same or different hands. The large number of numerical graffiti in the *atrium* corresponds to this trend in the overall sample. The only textual graffito in this space is indecipherable. Perhaps it is a verbal game/ tongue twister similar to the Menedemerumenus graffiti found throughout the city.[474]



4037: Emimimusoma
[?]

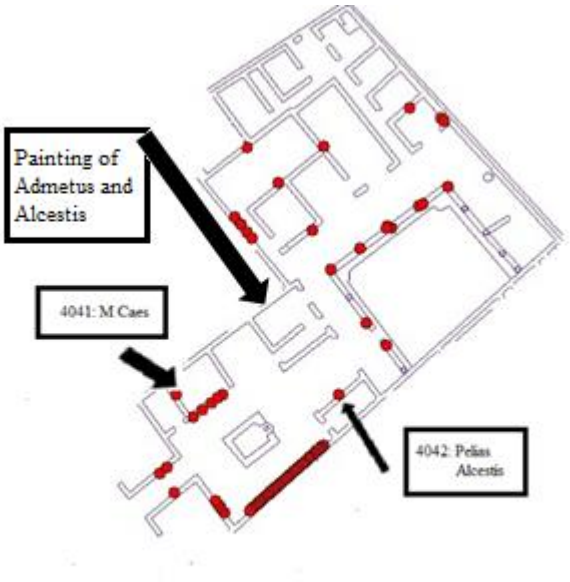
4038: XIIII III
XX XXV XXVIII

[474] (Kruschwitz, P., Campbell, V., and Nicholls, M. 2012) The tag line, Menedemerumenus, can be found around Pompeii. In its written form it makes a kind of word play as it looks something like this (IIIIINIIDIIIIIIIRUIIIIINUS) due to way Ms and Es were written in graffiti (as three vertical lines and two vertical lines, respectively). Menedemerumenus is likely a merger of the name of the character of Menedemus in Terence's Heauton timorumenos. (Kruschwitz, P., Campbell, V., and Nicholls, M. 2012, 93)

4039: VIII IIIIIIVIIIIII IIIIIIIIIIIIIII IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII
IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII IIIIIIII IIIIII
IIIIIIIIII IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII IIIIIIIIIIIII
VIIIII IIIIIIIIIIII V IIIII XXXXXIII
XIIS V VI IIIIIIII
VIIIIII (intersected with IIIIII vertically) ~~IIIIIIII~~ VI
VIII XVIIII XXII IIIXCVX
XVI/XXI XV XXXX VIIIIS
XVIS XII

4040: I ~~IIIIIIII~~ IIIIIIII XX

One textual graffito was found in a small room off the *atrium* (room 4 **Figure 29**).[475] This room is labeled variously as a *triclinium* (*CIL* editors) or *ambiente/cubiculum* (*PPM* editors). There is nothing in the architecture or decoration of the room to distinguish its use.



[475] See **Figures 195** and **196**

4041: M Caes
[Marcus Caesar? Marcus Caesius[476]?]

CIL IV 4042 was found in the right wall of the *tablinum*:

4042: Pelias
Alcestis
[Pelias, Alcestis]

This graffito elaborates on a wall painting of Admetus and Alcestis located in nearby room 9.[477] On the west part of the north wall (**Figure 197**) Alcestis is pictured seated with nurses attending while the eastern portion features Admetus (**Figure 198)**.[478] This graffito shows a direct conversation between the wall painting and the wall inscriptions. However, it is not a mere label of the characters within the painting: it is located several rooms from the painting itself and references Alcestis and her father Pelias, whose strict marriage contest brought Alcestis and Admetus together. It is unclear why the author chose to write the graffito here. Nevertheless, this kind of dialogue between the wall paintings and the graffiti shows dynamic, experiential movement within the Roman house. The wall paintings and the graffiti formed part of a didactic,[479] mnemonic,[480] and dialogic[481] atmosphere and experience within the Roman house.

Several graffiti found in Room 12 seem to be keeping track of people and dates (though not sums).[482] This room is usually defined as a *triclinium* due to its large size,

[476] A Marcus Caesius is known from CIL IV 1738
[477] See **Figures 197** and **198** (de Vos 1991a)
[478] See **Figure 199** for a comparandum from the House of the Tragic Poet (Bergmann 1994, 236)
[479] See (Clarke 2003) and (R. Taylor 2008)
[480] See (Bergmann 1994)
[481] (Benefiel 2010a)
[482] See **Figure 200**

but has also been labeled a *cubiculum* due to the graffiti found in and near it. They exemplify the "scratchboard" way in which the walls were used, as a place for record keeping. If this space is in fact a *triclinium*, it shows that the walls of even reception places could be used for this purpo

4043:[483] Rubenses rub
[?]

4044: VII K
Prim
VI · K
Felix
V · K
Germanus
[7 days before the Kalends Primus, 6 days before the Kalends Felix, 5 days before the Kalends Germanus]

[483] See **Figure 201**

4045: XII K Ian
Primus Felix
XI ε
G
X K Felix
IX K
Felix
IIX K
G
VII K II [ ]
G
[December 21st, Primus Felix, 22nd ? G(ermanus?), 23rd Felix, 24th Felix, 25th Germanus, 26th Germanus]

4046: III XIII IIIIIIIIIIIIII

4047: Cigrotue
ab h [ ] r
m vole
VIII
[?]

4048: [ ] r Feliculae s(alutem)
[greetings to Felicula]

4049: [484] Rufi · ni cu · bicu ·lum S
[The *cubiculum* of Rufinus]

This room has been identified as the sleeping quarters for slaves because of the names in CIL IV 4044-4045 and the presence of CIL IV 4049, which mentions a *cubiculum*, on the exterior wall of Room 11. Further, the coarseness of the wall plaster restoration has induced some scholars to believe that this room housed slaves.[485] The name, Felix, certainly could be servile, though it applies to a decurion at Pompeii as well.

[484] Rufinus appears in several graffiti: CIL IV 3189, 3403, 3409 (*Popidium · Secundum/ AED · D · R · P · probissimum · iuvenem · OVF/ Rufine · Fave · et · ille · te · faciet)*, 5205, 6156. CIL IV 3403 is located near to this house (*Helvium Sabinum / AED Parth(en)ope rog(at) / cum Rufino rog)*
[485] (de Vos 1991a, 540) (Mau 1877, 66)

The name Primus never appears among the decurional class.[486] Beyond the presence of possible slave names, the evidence for this suggestion is troubling. The graffito mentioning the "*cubiculum* Rufini (the *cubiculum* of Rufinus)" has been used to suggest that this room was itself a *cubiculum*. However, this graffito is actually on the exterior of Room 11. Therefore, it should not be used to designate the use of Room 12.

Even if the graffito did refer to Room 12, it is conceivable that the room could be used for both functions (*cubiculum* or *triclinium*) either at the same time or at different points during the day or year.[487] It is nearly impossible to confidently exclude slaves from anywhere in the Roman house and in the absence of a definite slave quarters in this particular house the use of this space as a bedroom cannot be excluded.

The contents of the graffiti fail to distinguish the space. Dates and commercial graffiti are also found in other known *triclinia* (see House I.6.4) and *cubicula* (see House V.4.a). Therefore, in the absence of more substantial proof of its use, the use of this room cannot be determined purely by the content of the graffiti.

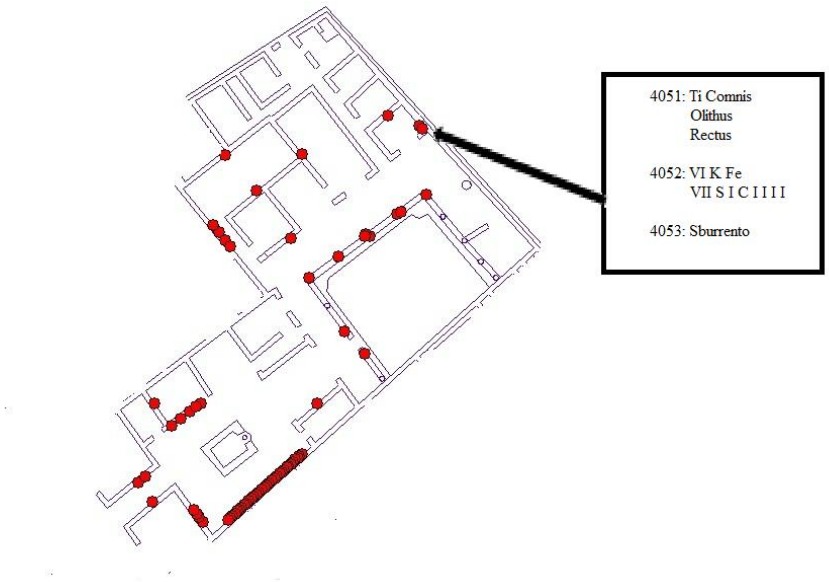
As just noted, in the peristyle on the exterior wall of room 11 was a very peculiar graffito:

> 4049: [488] Rufi · ni cu · bicu ·lum S
> [The *cubiculum* of Rufinus]

[486] (Castrén 1975, 265)
[487] See (George 1997a).
[488] Rufinus appears in several graffiti: CIL IV 3189, 3403, 3409 (*Popidium · Secundum/ AED · D · R · P · probissimum · iuvenem · OVF/ Rufine · Fave · et · ille · te · faciet)*, 5205, 6156. CIL IV 3403 is located near to this house (*Helvium Sabinum / AED Parth(en)ope rog(at) / cum Rufino rog)*

This is one of a handful of instances of a room name mentioned in a graffito.[489] Interestingly, it is on the exterior wall of what should assuredly be considered a *cubiculum*, as the remains of a bed were found in this room.[490] Given the meaning, one might expect it to be written inside the *cubiculum*, but by writing it on the outside Rufinus, or whoever wrote it, has made his claim of ownership more visible.

Graffiti are found in other possible *cubicula* in the house. Room 16 is labeled a *cubiculum* by the *CIL* editors and as an *exedra* by others.[491] The room has a threshold and exquisite wall paintings, one of which includes an epigram. Neither the decoration nor the content of the graffiti is atypical for either space.



4051: Ti Comnis
Olithus
Rectus
[Tiberius Com(i)ni(u)s? Olithus, Rectus]

[489] The only other room name in a graffito for which I am aware is (Giordano 1990, 294) *Atrium [ ] us e ac[ ] sandi;* Rufinus is also a possible slave name (Solin 1996, 55)
[490] (de Vos 1991a, 555)
[491] See **Figure 202**

4052: VI K Fe
VII S I C I I I I
[7th before the kalends Felix, 7 ?]

4053:[492] S{b}urrento
[Surrento]

I suggest that graffito CIL IV 4052 (VI K Fe/ VII S I C IIII), rather than designating "7 before the kalends of February" should be understood in conjunction with the graffiti of the so called *triclinium*/slaves' bedroom:

4044: VII K
Prim
VI · K
Felix
V · K
Germanus
[7 before the kalends Primus, 6 before the calends Felix, 6 before the calends Germanus]

4045: XII K Ian
Primus Felix
XI Ɛ
G
X K Felix
IX K
Felix
IIX K
G
VII K II [ ]
G

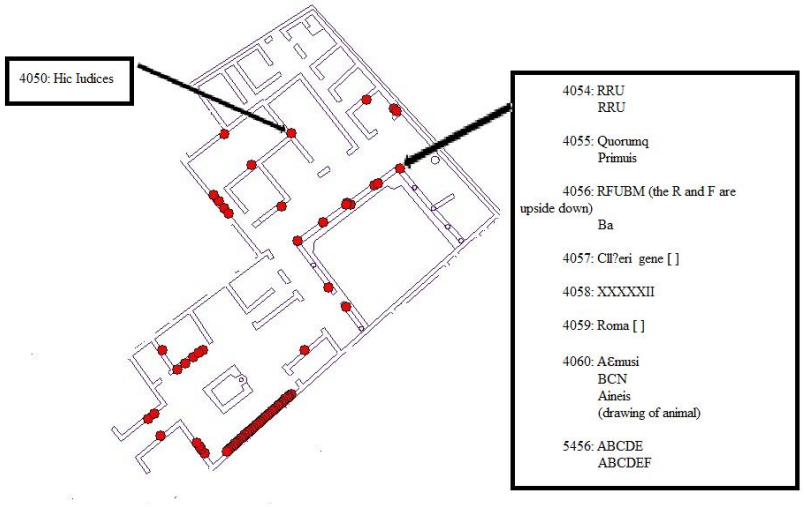
4052: [493] **VI K Fe(lix)**
VII S I C I I I I

[492] See **Figure 203**
[493] Felix suggestion my own, not CIL editors

It appears that CIL IV 4052, written in room 16, continued the countdown from CIL IV 4045 across the peristyle. This is further evidence that one should not label Room 12 as a slave's bedroom purely on the content of the graffiti since this tabulation appears to continue through different areas. It is possible that the records were written by a group working on the house restoration to keep track of work to be done in certain areas (i.e. on the 12^{th}-7^{th} before the kalends the crew would work in Room 12 and on the 6^{th} before the kalends they would work in Room 16).

Another graffito was found in a room typically labeled a *triclinium* (Room 14). The size of the room and its openness to the peristyle supports such an assertion. It is also possible the set of graffiti here used the wall plaster as scratch paper with little regard to planning or purpose, so long as the writer would see the reminder in the future.

CIL IV 4050 may be a graffito or a painted inscription.



4050: Hic iudices
[here judges/you may judge]

The *CIL* states it was a graffito (and therefore scratched) on a painting of the judgment of Paris.[494] It clearly comments on the substance of the painting. Neither the painting nor a line drawing of the graffito survives. From the *CIL* it seems this was a scratched graffito, but given the other Greek epigrams located on paintings within the *exedra* of this house, a painted inscription like the epigrams would not be out of place. Perhaps this is indeed a graffito imitating the painted epigrams found elsewhere in the house.

There are graffiti on nearly every column in the peristyle, a trend in many of the houses with "typical" graffiti distributions.[495] The meanings of many of the graffiti are unclear, either because they were written in abbreviation, by an author unfamiliar with Latin, or because of poor preservation.

4054: RRU
RRU
[?]

4055: Quorumq(ue?)
primuis
[whose, ?]

4056: RFU^BM (the R and F are upside down)
Ba
[?]

4057: Clleri gene [ ]
[?]

4058: XXXXXII
[52]

4059: Roma [ ]
[Roma, Romanus]

[494] See also *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita 1876*, 14.
[495] See **Figures 204** and **205**

4060: A&m^usi
BCN
Aineis
(drawing of animal)
[?]

5456: ABCDE
ABCDEF
[Abcde, abcdef]

The indecipherability of most of these graffiti impedes an understanding of their function in space, but the distribution on the columns of the peristyle aligns this house with other houses with typical distributions of graffiti.

In general, this house accords well with other houses of typical graffiti distributions. In this house, the majority of graffiti concentrate in the *atrium* and peristyle, though notable quantities are often found in reception rooms like the *triclinium* and *cubicula*. The type of graffiti in some of the reception areas, specifically a possible *triclinium*, as well as a possible *cubiculum*, may indicate the process of restoration within the house. The graffiti, then, offer a glimpse into ongoing architectural processes that leave few other archaeological remains.

5.6 Chapter Conclusion

In general, the houses with typical graffiti distributions had concentrations in the *atrium* and the peristyle. These locations and the content of the messages, including greetings and single names, reflect the use of the wall plaster as a message board. The

wall plaster was a place where Pompeians could express their presence in a place as well as communicate with others who might frequent the same location.

This chapter has shown that while several features characterize locations on which graffiti are typically written -- namely, high visibility, accessibility, and potential for pedestrian traffic -- the types of graffiti written in these spaces vary considerably. In these spaces, we find greetings, single names, dates, commercial graffiti, and sexual graffiti, among others. There are some general trends towards to the location of these specific types, as I will discuss in a moment, but the great diversity of writing in these "typical" spaces needs to be emphasized.

Besides greetings and single names, numerals appear in several houses with typical distributions. For example, House V.1.18 had 32 numerical graffiti in the *atrium*. It is difficult to understand now what they could mean. Probably they represent counting of some sort and were therefore written by inhabitants of the house. Likewise, dates and commercial graffiti are prominent in the houses of this sample. Commercial graffiti appear in the *atrium* (V.2.4), in charcoal in the *tablinum* (I.9.5), and in one example in a utilitarian space near a rear exit (I.9.13). These commercial graffiti generally appear in places frequented by both guests and inhabitants and reflect the public nature of the Roman house. Far removed from Victorian notions of private (house) and public (outside), the Roman house was a place of business as well as pleasure. These commercial graffiti demonstrate the presence of such activities in a variety of spaces and further emphasize the need to nuance our notion of privacy when examining the ancient material.

In the same way, dates were frequent among the houses in this sample. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact meaning of the dates now. However, dates in the *triclinium* of House V.1.18 may have been inscribed by restorers keeping track of work being done in the room.

Drawings were located in every house featured in this chapter, some in isolation from and others in conjunction with other writing. These drawings sometimes exemplify or explain the textual graffiti writing nearby like the owl next to CIL IV 4118 (*Ulula est/ Cresce(n)s Fullonibus et u(lu)lae suae sal(utem)*) or a drawing of a woman fellating next to CIL IV 10005 (*Fortunata).* At other times, the drawings are completely isolated from other graffiti writing. In the houses of the next chapter, we will see several more examples of graffiti writing combined with drawings in the form of graffiti written in the shape of boats.

Even in those houses with "typical" graffiti distributions, the content of the graffiti is worthy of careful consideration, as it provides nuance to our understanding of the use of space. For example, although House V.2.4 contained a typical concentration of graffiti in the peristyle, the content (Crescens and his addressors) aids our understanding of this space. Graffiti in House I.9.13, although located in a "typical" space (the peristyle), clustered around a single architectural object, an obsidian mirror. The graffiti themselves, mostly greetings and sexual messages, show that the mirror promoted congregation and dialogue. Even houses that can be considered "typical" differ significantly in the content of the graffiti, which can elucidate the specific use of space within the rooms.

Several of the houses had sizeable concentrations of graffiti in atypical places as well. These graffiti, for the most part, were unusual in some other aspect like their height from the ground, size, or content. This may indicate a known pattern of behavior by graffiti writers of Pompeii. Written graffiti in the *atrium* and peristyle are generally limited to a few types of purposes. In these other atypical areas, they sometimes deviate from these norms. It is possible that the writers in these areas (perhaps inhabitants) differed from the writers in the typical areas (perhaps mostly guests).

Analysis of these houses shows the need for a multifaceted study of Pompeian domestic space. Attribution of space names or identifying the use of space based solely on the content of the graffiti with no regard to the archaeological record has been shown to be problematic. But, microanalysis of the graffiti within a room aids in understanding concentrations in certain areas. The combination of these two approaches shows that a richer understanding of the use of space. As I will discuss in the next chapter, this understanding is especially possible and illuminative from the study of spaces with atypical distributions.

Chapter Six[496]

In this chapter, I analyze the graffiti of those houses with atypical graffiti distributions, i.e. buildings without concentrations in both the *atrium* and the peristyle. Some of the houses in this chapter deviate only slightly, having concentrations in *either* the *atrium* or the peristyle, but not both. Other buildings deviate significantly by having graffiti in only one room of the house. By grouping these houses with abnormal distributions together, I am able to look more closely at the ways in which they depart from the norm. I find that abnormal distributions indicate a change in the use of the space, often because a space is inadequate for normal use of that particular space (too small for congregation or without walking areas).

Spaces with Graffiti in the *Atrium* only (V.2.g, VI.13.19)

The two houses in this section have concentrations *only* in the *atrium*. This deviation from the normal distribution pattern emerges from the absence of a full peristyle with walking areas. Instead, each house has an *atrium*-sized enclosure in the rear that may have been out of use or undergoing repairs. This concentration on the *atrium* also increased the number of graffiti in rooms around it. Both houses are small; it is possible the inhabitants had no need for a peristyle in the final phase of Pompeii's life.

[496] I follow the Leiden conventions epigraphical abbreviations in this chapter: [abc] letters missing from the original text, a(bc) abbreviation, []abc[] letters erroneously omitted in antiquity, {abc} letters erroneously added in antiquity, ạḅ letters damaged and ambiguous outside of context, ABC clear but incomprehensible letters

However, even though the houses lack a typical distribution, the types of graffiti are consistent with those found in the houses examined earlier.

6.1 Casa di Fufidius Successus (V.2.g)[497]

The graffiti in this house center in the *atrium* and the rooms directly connected to it. Several graffiti occur on the western wall of the *atrium*[498]:

4224: XIV · k(alendas) · Maia(s)
[April 19th]

4225: [499] [th]alassa^e fusa(e?) optatus
(written in the shape of a boat)
[Optatus to the broad sea]

[497] The house is named because of a seal of Fufidius Successus found within and graffiti located on the façade including CIL IV 4245 (*Fufidius)*, 4243 (*Fufidius hiceti · sal(utem))*. A caupona has also been attributed to Fufidius (I.8.16) due to programmata on the façade.
[498] See **Figure 206**
[499] See **Figure 207.** Optatus is attested as a name in several Pompeian families.

4226: Mopsus[500] · Ṭroiae · sa[l]utem)
A
[Mopsus says hello to Troia]

4227: salai[ ]S [ ] panmlis
pcati[ ]lus · liber[ ]ucias · qiqe semuca
(CIL reconstruction: sal a(ssibus) I[I]S, pan(e)m l(ibram) IS. P Catillus lib{e}ra(m) I u(n)cias q(u)i(n)q(u)e semu(n)c(i)a(m))
[salt 2½ asses, a pound of bread 1½ asses. Publius Catillus[501] 1 pound, 1/12th, 5, 1/24th]

4228: K(alendas) · Ianuar(ias)
Catillus tuues ille IC cnaep^li
[On January 1st, Catillus … 99…]

4229: [502] N Popidius
Salvius
(written in the shape of a boat)[503]
[Numerius Popidius Salvius]

4230: Secun[du]s
Secundus
(written in the shape of a boat)[504]
[Secundus, Secundus]

4231: [ ]eram inde pen[ ]or
[?]

The graffiti in the *atrium* illustrate the large variety of types found in this space including greetings, names, and records. The meanings of CIL IV 4227 and 4228 are unclear though they are evidently commercial in nature. Three graffiti were written in the shape of boats (*Buchstabenschiffen),* similar to those found in house V.2.4. CIL IV 4225

[500] This name is also attested in CIL IV 1979 and 5005.
[501] An alternate translation could be p(endit) catillus (he bought a bowl) as Mommsen suggests. Catillus is otherwise unattested in Pompeii.
[502] Numerius Popidius probably comes from the noble branch of the Popidii family, who tend to have the praenomen Numerius (N. Popidius Rufus, N. Popidius Ampliatus). (Castrén, 207)
[503] = Langner 15
[504] = Langner 16, 17

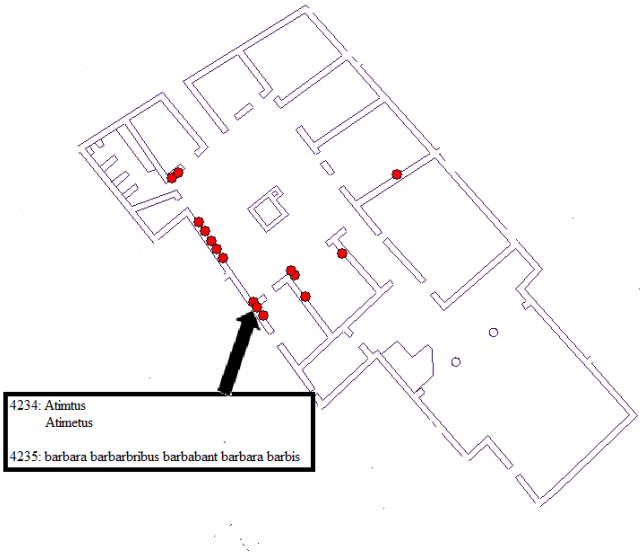
((*th)alassae fusa(e?) optatus*) is illustrated in its form as a boat, though the exact meaning is unclear. Perhaps Optatus is the name of the ship illustrated by the form of the graffito. The other two *Buchstabenschiffen* may be playing off this first graffito.

All of the graffiti in this space cluster on the north and west walls. If a peristyle had been in use one might expect them to appear on the east wall, as it defines the corridor leading to the rear enclosure (see also House V.4.a). The concentration of graffiti on the wall *not* leading to the back part of the house provides further evidence that the inhabitants and visitors to the house were not using the enclosure in the same way as peristyles in houses of typical graffiti distributions. This particular enclosure, as shown earlier, is characterized by low accessibility in comparison to other spaces in the house and low visual control and controllability, differentiating it from the peristyles of other houses, especially those surrounded by rooms on several sides. These factors, in addition to its small size, may account for the paucity of graffiti.

Graffiti appear in several other rooms in the house, including a room typically identified as a *triclinium*. This graffito again demonstrates the prevalence of numeral and commercial graffiti in places associated with reception:

4232: XXXXXIIIII
X[ ]XXXIIIII
XXXI
[55; 55; 31]

Two graffiti were in a room typically termed a *cubiculum*, though too little remains of the architecture and decoration of this room to elucidate its use any further.[505]



[505] See **Figure 208**.

4234: [506] Atim[e]tus
Atimetus
[Atimetus; Atimetus]

4235: barbara barbabribus barbabant barbara barbis
[barbarian, for the barbarians, they were bearded, bandages, for the beards]

This first message perhaps indicates a writer not completely familiar with Latin. In the first, Atimetus is misspelled and corrected on the second line. In the second graffito, the author plays with the base *barbar*, in different declensions and verb forms in hexameter, or else is playing with three closely related words *barbarus, barbo, barbarum* and *barba* to the same effect. [507] This graffito demonstrates the chalkboard nature of the walls in domestic spaces in Pompeii. The wall plaster was a place to experiment with, play with, and demonstrate skill in the language. The fact that few mistakes are crossed over or erased even when corrections are made beside them demonstrates the experimental nature of much of this graffiti writing.

The majority of the graffiti in this house are located in or very near the *atrium*. Even CIL IV 4221-14223 which are in the *tablinum* are on or near the *antae* opening onto the *atrium*, so are in fact very near the *atrium* itself. They are:

[506] Atimetus is an attested cognomen in three Pompeian families: Annius Atimetus (CIL IV 9839a), Lucius Melissaeus Atimetus (witness in a tablet of 57 AD), and Gaius Munatius Atimetus, freedman (CIL X 1031). The name appears in several graffiti: CIL IV 1725, 1728, 1729, 3996, 4234, 4683, 5411, 5449, 5648, 8209.
[507] Milnor aptly calls this graffito a "morphological game" (Milnor 2014, 25).

4221: [ ]eaus
[?]

4222: Caesaris
(written in the shape of a boat)
[Of Caesar]

4223: Secundio[508]
[Secundio]

4233: XXX
V
XIIIIXVIV
VIII XX
[30; 5; ? ; 8 20]

The distribution of graffiti in the *atrium*, *tablinum*, and the rooms surrounding the *tablinum* without a corresponding concentration in the enclosure behind (often the peristyle) is unusual. The types of graffiti in these rooms do not indicate why this

[508] I read Secundio in the nominative rather than a dative of Secundius. A Publius Antistius Secundio is attested on a wax tablet (Castren 136) and a Lucius Aurunculeius Secundio is attested on a seal (Castren 141).

unusual distribution occurred. One possible explanation is that the peristyle was intended, but not finished at the time of the eruption.[509] This could account for the lack of graffiti found by excavators in this area, least of all on the columns at the entrance to the enclosure. The current ruinous state of the entire building prohibits examination of the decoration and its state of completion at the time of eruption.

A further explanation may lie in the architecture of the space, which only allows ambulation on one side. Further, there were at most two columns, the most popular place for graffiti writing in the peristyle. These columns frame the access to the space more like elements of an *oecus* entrance than typical peristyle columns. The lack of sufficient walking space, rooms around the enclosure to walk to, and columns on which to write on made this place unattractive for writing. Graffiti occur in the most visible, controlled, accessible, and trafficked areas of the home. Without walking spaces or destination rooms, this rear enclosure lacked these qualities. Consequently, graffiti writers completely shifted their attention to the *atrium* and the rooms surrounding it.

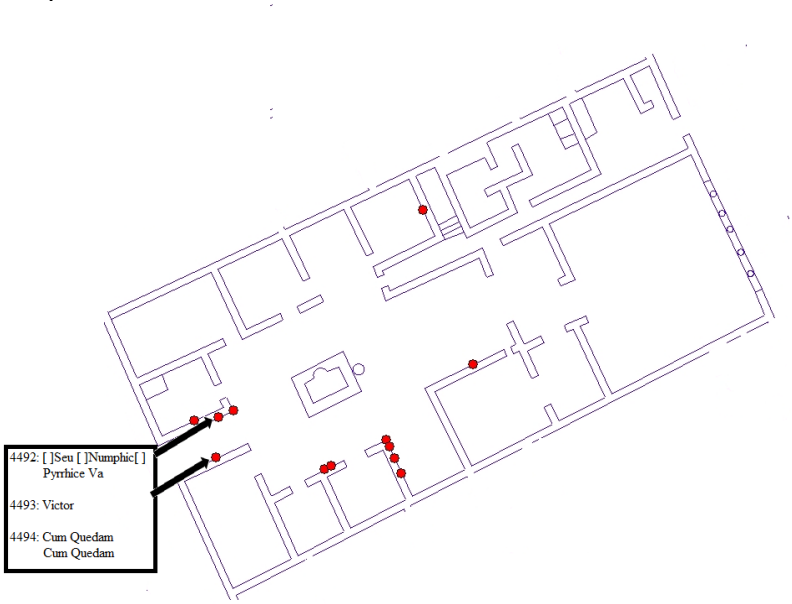
6.2 Casa di Pompeius Axiochus (VI.13.19)

This house is commonly called the House of Sextus Pompeius Axiochus due to a seal found inside. The house is small and in a state of very poor preservation today.

[509] (Badoni 1991, 641) See **Figures 209** and **210**.

Similar to House V.2.g, the distribution of graffiti in this house is irregular. It has a large concentration in the *atrium* and the rooms surrounding it but no graffiti in the peristyle.

In the *fauces* are: [510]



4492: Ạseu [ ]nymphic[ ]
Pyrrhice v^a(le)
[? / Nymphicus[511]/ Pyrrhicus, goodbye]

4493: Victor
[Victor]

4494: [512] Cum qu(a)edam
cum qu(a)edam
[when a certain person / when a certain person]

These greetings, single names, and poetic snippets are the typical short messages usually found in the *fauces*.

In the *atrium* were two graffiti:

---

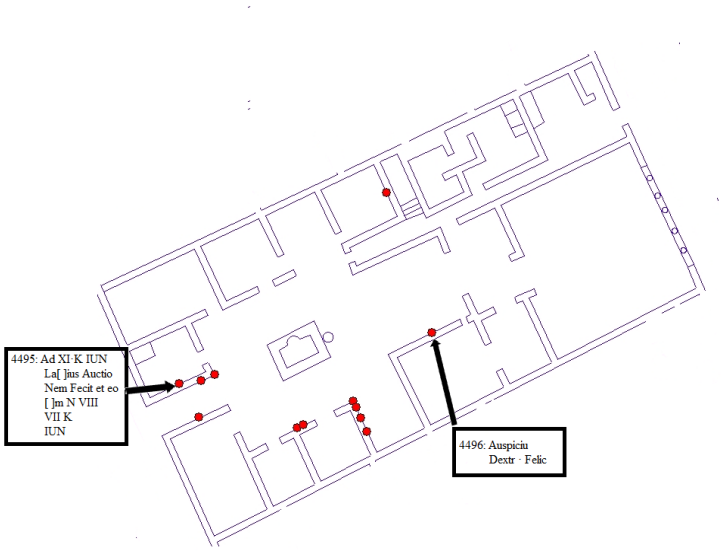
[510] See **Figure 211**
[511] Nymphicus is otherwise unattested though Nymphius is attested (L. Naevoleius; N. Popidius; A. Veius A. f.). (Castrén 1975, 256)
[512] CIL IV 4494 is likely poetic, perhaps by a local author or poet whose works no longer survive. Cf. CIL IV 2386, 4515, 4855, 4952, 5017 (Buecheler 1871).

4502: Fustes LXII
[62 sticks]

4503: Muli[o] XLIIX
rube I X XIII
[mule driver 48?/ ? 10 13]

These are certainly economic in nature and completely in character with the type of graffiti normally found in the *atrium*.

One graffito was found in a room typically called a *cubiculum* in the western wall of the *atrium*:



4495: A(nte)d(iem) XI·k(alendas) Iun(ias)
La[m?]ius auctio
nem fecit et eo
VII N VIII
VI k(alendas)
Iun(ias) [ ][513]
[May 21st; Lamius held an auction and to him on May 25th, 24th, and 26th]

[513] See **Figure 212**.

The identification of this room as a *cubiculum* is secure due to the evidence of a bed niche. This graffito is difficult to read due to multiple lacunae, but its economic/commercial nature is clear. It shows, as in many cases discussed earlier, the multiple functionality of the *cubiculum*, which expanded far beyond sleeping. As literary evidence corroborates, it appears much business and record keeping took place in *cubicula*.[514]

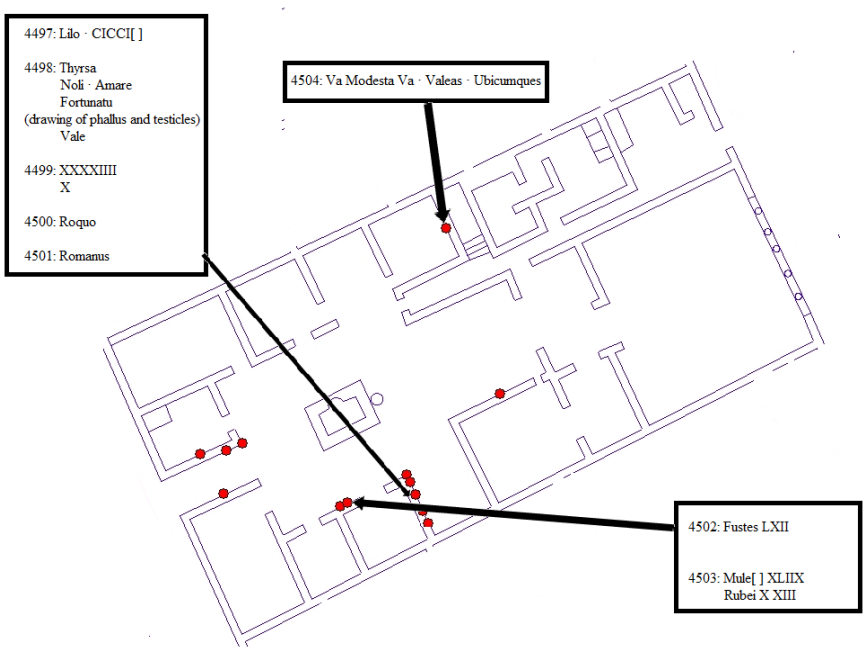
In the *tablinum* was:

4496: Auspiciu(m)
dextr(um) · felic(issimum?)
[most fortunate auspice on the right]

The particular meaning of this graffito is unclear, although auspices on the right were in fact the most auspicious. It could be a quote from literature or perhaps just a general reference to auspices. This is the only instance of *auspicium* in a Pompeian graffito.

In the *ala*[515]:

[514] (Riggsby 1997)
[515] See **Figure 213**.



4497:[516] Lilo · cicci[ ]
[?]

4498: [517] Thyrsa
noli · amare
Fortunatu(m)
(drawing of phallus and testicles)
vale
[Thyrsa, don't love Fortunatus. Goodbye.]

4499: XXXXIIII
X
[44; 10]

4500: Roquo
[?]

4501: Romanus
[Romanus]

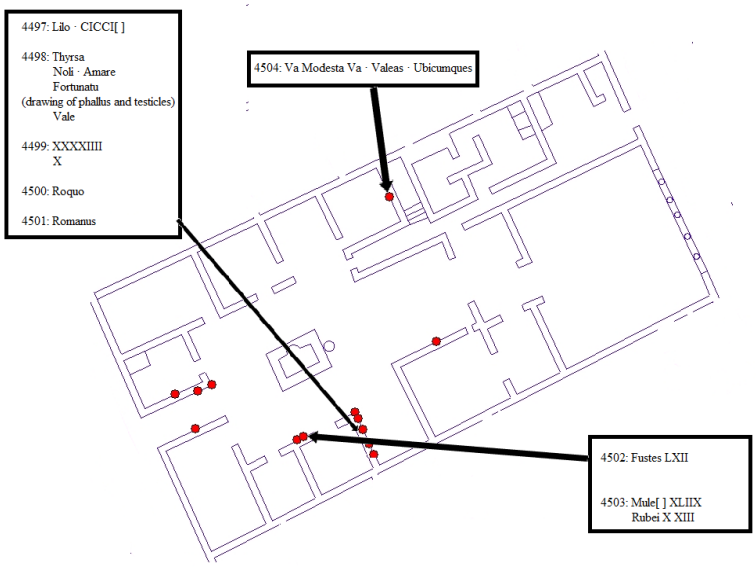
[516] See **Figure 214**.
[517] See **Figure 215**.

The graffiti in this space are a mix of types. CIL IV 4497 (*Lilo · cicci*) is difficult to read but may be commercial if CICCI is a numeral like CIL IV 4499 (*XXXXIIII / X)*. In CIL IV 4498 (*Thyrsa / noli • amare / Fortunatu(m) / vale*), we see an exhortation to a woman (perhaps from another lover) and a greeting.

As was shown in house I.9.5, graffiti in *alae* are rare. I suggested that either lack of use or the presence of obstructing furniture contributed to a dearth of graffiti in this area of the house. The presence of graffiti on only one side of this *ala* may indicate that something, perhaps furniture, blocked the other side of the room. The concentration in this *ala* may relate not only to an available stretch of wall, but also to the proximity of the *atrium.* The suppression of graffiti in the rear of the house may have contributed to its proliferation in an *ala*, which typically has none.

One graffito was located in a small room located off the *atrium*, reached through the left *ala*. The room is typically labeled a *cella* or *cubiculum* but too little remains of the architecture, decoration, or room assemblage to aid in distinguishing its use. [518]

[518] *Cella* in CIL, *cubiculum* in PPM



4504: Va(le) Modesta va(le) · valeas · ubicumq(u)e{s}
[Goodbye, Modesta goodbye, be well wherever you are]

In my corpus, greetings typically do not appear in rooms identified as *cubicula*, except in inns (see below). As no other evidence suggests this house was an inn, it is likely that this room was not used in the same way as other rooms called *cubicula* in my corpus.

The absence of graffiti in the rear enclosure is noteworthy and unusual. One possible reason for this is that the space was in the process of being redecorated after the earthquake of 62AD.[519] The columns indicating this was once a peristyle were stacked against the west wall, presumably awaiting repair. Further, the enclosure is small with little space for ambulation, which may also have contributed to the lack of writing in the space. Overall, the house is modest and the decoration is sparse and of poor quality. Perhaps a modest house such as this lacked the traffic of guests and clients who created the copious amounts of graffiti in other houses. Further, since large-scale redecoration

[519] (Sampaolo 1994, 202)

was occurring in the peristyle, it is possible the house was unoccupied or partially occupied in the years prior to the eruption.

In conclusion, the lack of large peristyles with suitable walking spaces in houses V.2.g and VI.13.19 seems to have created an influx of graffiti in the *atria* and the rooms connected with them. A large number of these graffiti were commercial in nature, which indicates the use of wall plaster as a space for record keeping and accounts. On a micro level, graffiti appear in several rooms on only one wall, showing a gravitation towards writing in one area of the room. This tendency could be because traffic centered in that area or because furniture or other items prohibited writing on the other walls.

Spaces with Graffiti in the Peristyle Only

The following two houses deviate from the typical distribution of graffiti as they have a concentration in the peristyle without a corresponding concentration in the *atrium*. This is even more unusual than the houses with graffiti in the *atrium* only, as guests and inhabitants would have to pass through the *atrium* (and not write in it) to reach these spaces. The occupation and social responsibilities of the owners may have affected the unusual distribution of graffiti found within these houses. Different inhabitants would use their houses in different ways depending on their needs, social responsibilities, and individual tastes. The markedly different distribution of graffiti may be due to the social status and occupations of the inhabitants of these two houses, a *fullo* in VI.14.20 and freedmen in I.4.5. Perhaps this may also account for the relative paucity of graffiti in the

Casa del Triclinio (V.2.4), which also has graffiti that may indicate the presence of fullers.

6.3 Casa di Orfeo/Casa di Vesonio Primo (VI.14.20)

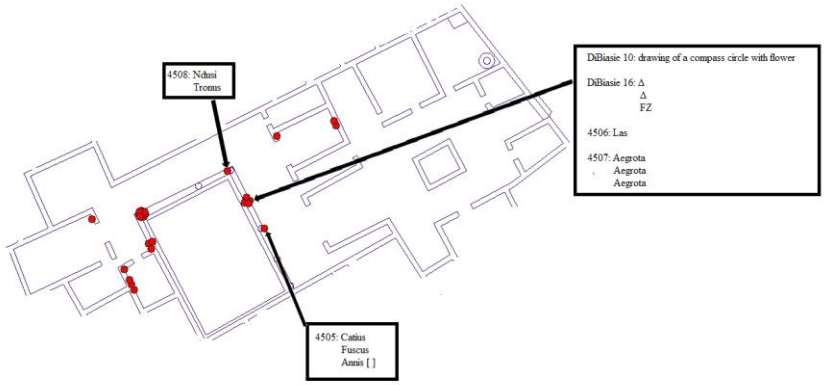
This house's name is derived from the quantity of *programmata* with Vesonius Primus as the *rogator* painted on the façade and a herm bearing the word *Primus* found in the *tablinum*.[520] The fact that the herm only mentions Primus, let alone the presumption that it referred to the owner of the house, invites skepticism.[521] If the house *did* belong to a Vesonius Primus, we may also know his profession. Vesonius Primus appears in *programma* CIL IV 3477 on the façade of VI.14.22: *CN · Helvium AED · D · P / Vesonius / Primus rog.* Directly below it, Primus is identified as a fuller (CIL IV 3478: *L · Ceium · (secund)um / II · V· I · D Primus · fullo · ro(gat)*). It has been supposed that he owned the fullonica next door (VI.14.21-22).[522] If this identification is correct, his occupation may shed light on the unusual distribution of graffiti in this house.

Nearly all the graffiti in this house are in the peristyle, which is on axis with the *fauces*. With columns on three sides, it does not allow full ambulation around the colonnade. However, unlike the houses with small peristyles discussed earlier (V.2.g,

[520] On the herm is the inscription *Primo N(umerius?) Anteros arcar(ius?)* To Primus, Numerius Anteros treasurer (set this up). A Vesonius Primus is also known from several tablets dated to 57 CE. (Castrén 1975, 238) Alternatively, this house is called the House of Orpheus due the magnificent painting of Orpheus surrounded by animals located in the peristyle. The *programmata* including Vesonius Primus include CIL IV 3471, 3477, 3478, 3480, 3481, and 3482.
[521] Flohr is very skeptical of this identification. (Flohr 2013, 301)
[522] (Narciso 1994, 264)

VI.13.19), this house has "destination rooms" at the back of the peristyle: two small rooms and two larger reception-type spaces, which encouraged ambulation around the edges.

On the columns of the peristyle:[523]



4505: [524] Catius
Fuscus
Annis [ ]
[Catius Fuscus Annis]

DiBiasie 10:[525] drawing of a compass circle with flower

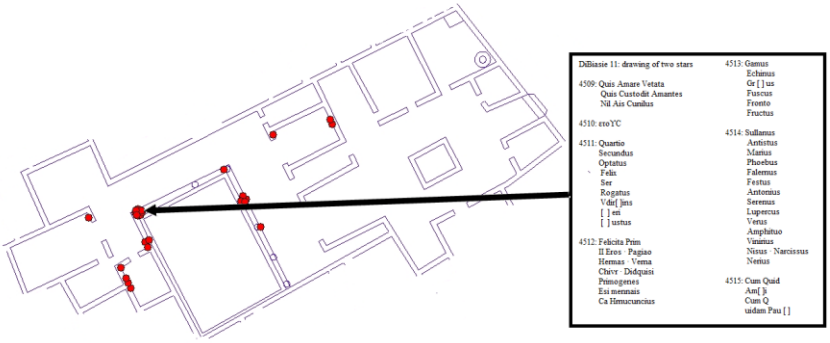
DiBiasie 16: [526] Δ
Δ
FZ
[?]

4506: Las
[?]

[523] See **Figures 216-219**
[524] The name Fuscus often appears as a rogator on programmata (CIL IV 175, 176, 216, 747, 3582, 3583, 3583). See also CIL IV 4513 below.
[525] See **Figures 220-222**.
[526] See **Figure 223**.

4507: [527] Ạegroṭa
[a]egrota
aegroṭa
[sick/sick/sick]

4508: Ndusi
tronus
[?]



DiBiasie 11: [528] drawing of two stars

4509: [529] (Quis)quis amare vetat
(quis)quis custodit amanṭęs
nil ais uncius
[Whoever forbids love; whoever guards lovers; nothing you say (is) unique/ crooked]

4510: [530] ετοϒC
[Of a year]

[527] If *Aegrota* is a name it does not appear in any other graffiti; *Aegrotes*, however, appears three times, once as the *rogatores* in a *programma* (CIL IV 762, 2960, 3775).
[528] See **Figures 224-226**.
[529] Written in hexameter; last line uncertain. (Varone 2002, 61) Buecheler suggests 'nil ais cunil(ing)us,' Varone records "nil est unicus." My own reading from the line drawing combines portions from both suggestions. See **Figure 227**.
[530] CIL IV 4510-4512 appear to be written in the same hand.

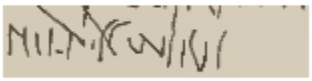
4511: Quartio
Secundus
Optatus
Filix
Ser(vus?)
Rogatus
Udir[ ]ins
[ ] erti
[ ] ustus
[Quartio, Secundus, Optatus, Felix, Servus, Rogatus ?]

4512:[531] Felicita(s Vesonio?) Prim(o?)
II Eros · Pagiao
Herm(i?)as · Verna
Chivir · Didquesi
Primogenes
esi mennais
Ca Hrnucuncius
[Good fortune to Vesonius Primus, II Eros ?, Primogenes ?]

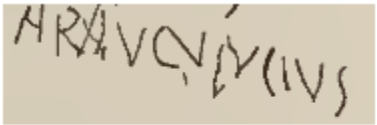
4513: [532] Gamus
Echinus
Gr[at]us
Fuscus
Fronto
Fructus
[Gamus/Echinus/ Gratus?/ Fuscus/ Fronto/ Fructus]

[531] See **Figure 228**. The last line of this graffito is very unclear, but bears strong similarity to the last line of CIL IV 4509 (also unclear)

CIL IV 4509



CIL IV 4512



[532] See **Figure 229**.

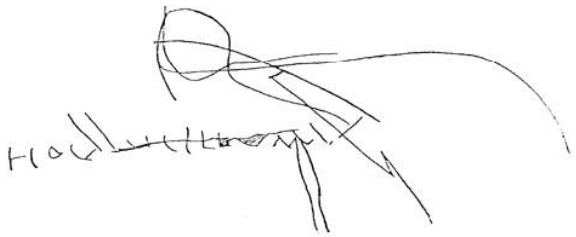
4514: Sullanus
Antistus
Marius
Phoebus
Falernus
Festus
Antonius
Serenus
Lupercus
Verus
Amphit[]r[]uo
Vinirius
Nisus · Narcissus
Nereus
[Sullanus/ Anistus/ Marius/ Phoebus/ Falernus/ Festus/ Antonius/ Serenus/ Lupercus/ Verus/ Amphitruo/ Venerius/ Nisus Narcissus/ Nereus]

4515: Cum quid
am p[auper]
cum q
uidam pau[per]
[When a certain poor man, when a certain poor man]

4516: [533] Naupegus
Naupegus
[Naupegus/ Naupegus]

[533] If this is a name, it is not attested in (Castrén 1975) (Kajanto 1964) or the rest of the CIL IV.

4517: [534] Hoc mucillum
[This semen[535]]
(drawing of phallus (possible, unclear))= Langner 733 (described as a "running figure"



(Illustration 6.1: Langner 733 from (Langner 2001))

4518: Homo
[a man]

The majority of the graffiti found on these peristyle columns are singular male names in vertical lists, mostly in the nominative case. Names are common in this study, but generally only in isolation. Long lists such as these are unusual. A number of these names are those typically associated with slaves such as Fructus, Felix, Verus, and Narcissus. The purpose of these long lists is unclear; they could have functioned for record keeping or perhaps just for making themselves known. At least CIL IV 4512 and 4513 (and perhaps the others, no line drawing is provided) were written by the same hand. These two graffiti are not lists of individual people inscribing their name but rather one person inscribing the names of multiple people. If the owner of this house was connected to the fullery next door, a condition that must remain hypothetical, it could

[534] *Mucillum* is a hapax legomenon.
[535] For interpretation, see (Varone 2002, 91).

follow that this was a list of fullers, clients of the fullery, employees, or slaves. We have already seen that some of the graffiti (also on peristyle columns) in House V.2.4 mention fullers and may have mentioned Primus (the potential owner of the fullery at VI.14.20).[536]

There are also several fragments of poetry on the peristyle columns (CIL IV 4509 and 4515) and drawings. CIL IV 4515 (*Cum quid / am p[auper] / cum q / uidam pau[per]*) is the same fragment also seen in house V.2.4. This popular bit of local poetry was used as a tagline in the same way as the first lines of the Aeneid Books 1 and 2. The meaning of CIL IV 4512 (*Felicita(s Vesonius?) Prim(us?) / II Eros • Pagiao / Herm(i?)as • Verna / Chivir • Didquesi / Primogenes / Esi mennais / Ca Hrnucuncius*) is unclear though it does reference a Primus, maybe Vesonius Primus. This graffito also mentions a *verna*, though it is uncertain to whom it refers. CIL 4509 (*((Quis)quis amare vetat / (quis)quis custodit amantẹs / nil ais uncius*) has some similarities to the popular bit of possible local poetry that begins *quisquis amat* (see House I.9.13) and perhaps alludes to this fragment.

The presence of eighteen graffiti in the peristyle and absence of graffiti in the *atrium* could be attributed to two factors. First, wall plaster survives in much better quality and greater quantity on the peristyle columns and the rooms surrounding the peristyle. This poor preservation of the atrium may be the result of the destruction of part

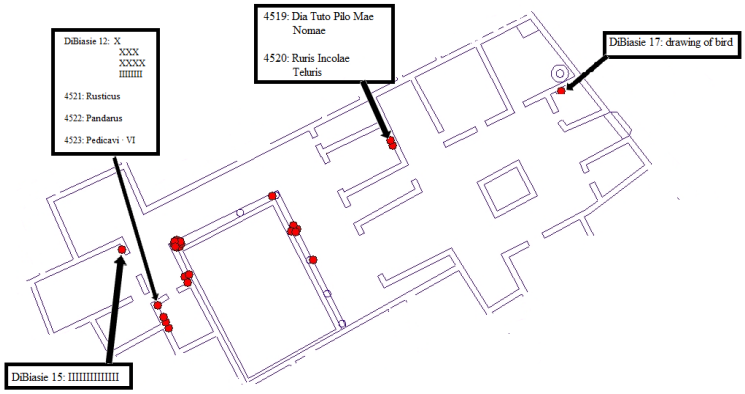
[536] It may be, and more research may substantiate this claim, that a particular proclivity towards graffiti writing existed among fullers in Pompeii.

of the house by bombs that fell nearby during World War II.[537] It is uncertain how much plaster was visible in the late 19th century when these graffiti were recorded.

A second reason for the unusual distribution of graffiti in this house may be a change in the pattern of use. The inhabitants or the guests were more accustomed to write in the peristyle than the *atrium*. This may suggest that the peristyle and the rooms connected to it were the loci of activity, especially for guests. This change in focus of activity may be attributable to the status of the homeowner as a *fullo*, if because of his status he had no need for the *atrium* as a place to receive guests or clients and instead directed them to reception rooms in the peristyle. The other house in this section, I.4.5, was potentially owned by freedmen and has a similar distribution of graffiti. Perhaps they too had no need for formal reception in the *atrium* and instead did most entertaining in the peristyles, of which there were three. This is impossible to prove and is merely a hypothesis but the dramatic shift in distribution of graffiti in both houses from the *atrium* to the peristyle and the rooms surrounding it may indicate a different pattern of behavior and subsequent use of the rooms from the houses with typical distributions.

Several graffiti were in rooms connected to the peristyle:

[537] (García y García 2006, 87)



In a room often termed a *cubiculum*, located off the peristyle, were several graffiti. No extant bed niche exists, but the exquisite third style decoration and door threshold are reminiscent of other *cubicula* in the corpus.[538]

DiBiasie 12:[539] X
XXX
XXXX
IIIIIIII
[10; 30; 40; 8]

4521: Rusticus
[Rusticus]

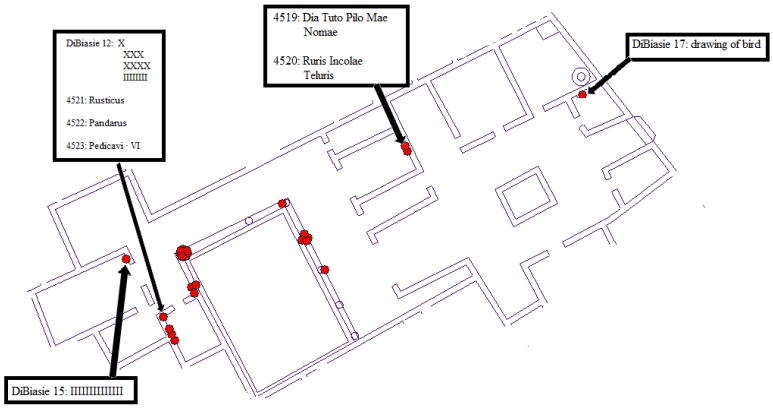
4522:[540] Pandarus
[Pandarus]

4523:[541] Pedicavi · VI
[I had anal sex, 6 (times?)]

[538] See **Figures 230-232**.
[539] See **Figures 233-235** (photographs of poor quality due to storage of *cassette* in room).
[540] See **Figure 236**.
[541] See **Figures 237-238**.

In this room, we find four graffiti on the west wall including male names and numerals. CIL IV 4523 has a clear sexual message in a space that may have been appropriate for such an activity.[542]

There are several graffiti in other rooms off the peristyle including in a large reception room located at the back of the peristyle:



DiBiasie 15: [543] IIIIIIIIIIIII
[14]

In a room often identified as a *triclinium*:

4519: [544] Dia tuto pilo mae
nomae
(διὰ τοῦτο φιλῶ μαινόμαι)
[Because of this I love, I am crazy (with love)[545]]

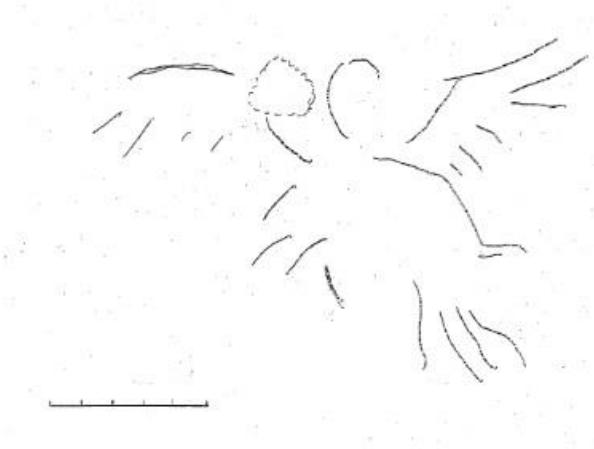
4520: Ruris incolae
telluris
[Inhabitants of the country (and?) of the land]

[542] (Riggsby 1997, 37)
[543] See **Figure 239**.
[544] See **Figure 240**.
[545] Thank to Adam Rabinowitz for the suggestion of this translation.

Greek written in Latin script is not unheard of in Pompeii, though this graffito is one of the longest examples.[546] Adams suggests that the writer was unfamiliar with the Greek script or transliterated it for stylistic effect.[547] The source of the line is unclear; it does not seem to come from extant literature.

All three words of CIL IV 4520 (*Ruris incolae / telluris*) are unique among graffiti from Pompeii. It, too, is difficult to understand. Both graffiti in this room have words that evoke literary pretensions.

Finally, one graffito appears in a room connected with the *atrium*. In a small room to the right of the *fauces*, usually interpreted as a *cubiculum*, was:



DiBiasie 17: drawing of bird[548]
(Illustration 6.2: DiBiasie 17, Line drawing by author)

In general, the locations of graffiti from this house depart markedly from those of houses with typical graffiti distribution. The exclusive placement of graffiti in and

[546] Cf. CIL IV 423, 1665, 2094, 2161, 2162, 2178a-b, 2319, 2425, 4603, 5011, 5299, 5445
[547] (Adams 2003, 43)
[548] See **Figures 241-244**.

around the peristyle can only be explained by either poor preservation of wall plaster in the *atrium* or a different use of space within the house than others in the corpus, perhaps because of the occupations of the inhabitants. If the owner of the house was a *fullo*, as has been suggested, then perhaps the use of rooms in the house departed from the typical use as evidenced by this change in distribution. Guests were invited to the peristyle and its adjoining reception rooms rather than waiting in the *atrium* and the many rooms joined to it. The content of the graffiti in this peristyle is also unusual in its inclusion of several lists of male names. This could be a list of friends, guests, or employees, though the quantity of names typically deemed servile might suggest the latter explanation. Another house in my study potentially connected to the fullers (House V.2.4) also contained a great quantity of single male names (including Primus). This may indicate that there was a particular proclivity towards graffiti writing among the fullers in Pompeii. More research in this area is needed to substantiate this claim.

6.4 Casa del Citarista (I.4.5)

This house has the fewest graffiti in my sample even though it is the largest in area by far (2,700 m²). The owner of the house may have been Lucius Popidius Secundus, a freedman and *Augustianus*, a member of the troupe that accompanied Nero's artistic performances.[549] He shared the house with a fellow freedman named Lucius

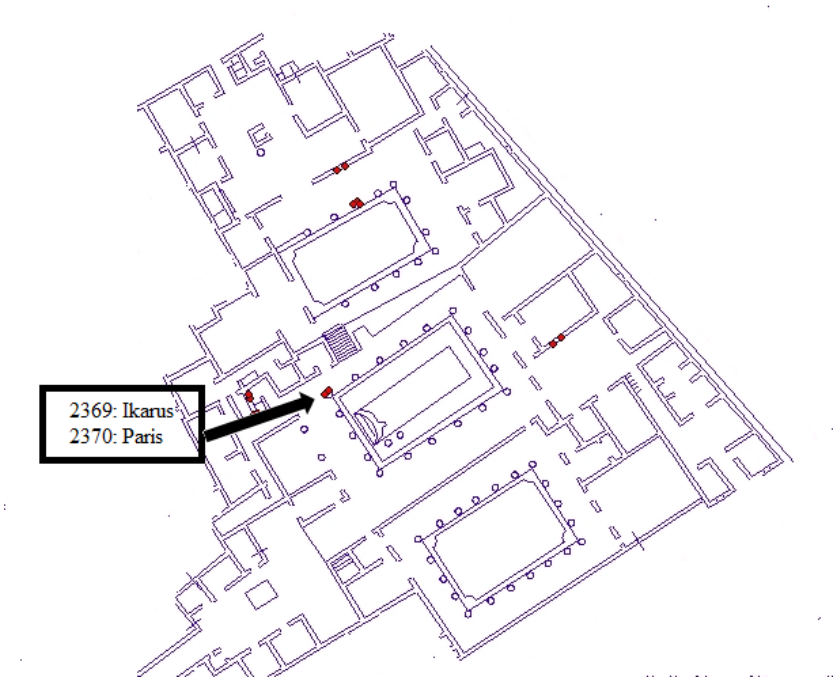
[549] (Franklin 2001, 115)

Popidius Ampliatus.[550] The two freedmen's homonymous sons stood for election: Lucius Popidius Ampliatus II (candidate in 75 AD) and Lucius Popidius Secundus II (candidate in 79 AD). Their impressive rise in status and entry into the *ordo* is probably due to the immense wealth amassed by their fathers, clearly evidenced by the size of their house.[551] This wealth may have been a direct result of the imperial appointment of the elder Lucius Secundus as an *Augustianus*.[552]

The graffiti in this house concentrate in the peristyles and the rooms directly connected to them, perhaps indicating that typical social rituals of the *atrium* like the *salutatio* and entertaining guests did not occur as frequently in this house. Certainly, the double *atria* and the quantity of rooms connected to them left much wall space and area for congregation by guests and family members.[553] This difference in use could be due to the social status of the house owners. Perhaps, as freedmen, they may have not needed the *atria* for the typical events like the *salutatio.* Instead, they made good use of the triple peristyles for entertaining and business.

Several graffiti were found in the peristyle of this house including the following on columns of the middle peristyle:

[550] (de Vos 1990a, 117) (Franklin 2001, 115) (Della Corte 1964, 252)
[551] (Franklin 2001, 194)
[552] Ibid., 205.
[553] One reason for the paucity of graffiti in the *atria* may be due to the early excavation date of this building (1853-1868) and poor preservation of it thereafter. However, several rooms connected to the *atria* still contain wall plaster (rooms 3A, 6, 36). The peristyles are in similarly poor preservation condition though the rooms surrounding them survive slightly better. No graffiti recorded in the CIL from this house were extant in 2014.



2369: [554] Ikarus
[Ikarus]

2370: Paris
[Paris]

The name Icarus is found again in what the *CIL* authors termed the "*sella familiarica*." This term is a little difficult to interpret, but I understand it to mean the latrine located to the west of the tetrastyle basin (see #32 on **Figure 27**).

[554] See **Figure 244**.

2375: [555] Ampliate
Icarus
te pedicat
Salvius
scripsit
(to the left a sketch of a man with a huge nose)
[Ampliatus, Icarus sodomized you. Salvius wrote this.]

In the walkway connecting the latrine to the kitchen area:[556]

2376: [557] Paris
[Paris]

2377: Echio v^a(le)
[Goodbye, Echius]

These two graffiti coupled with CIL IV 2370 (*Paris)* in the same building, as many of the graffiti in building VII.12.35 discussed below, may be the names of pantomimes. While common names in isolation, when combined Paris and Echio (as I will show in a moment) may indicate that *this* Paris is the famous pantomime of Nero (Lucius Domitius Paris) who visited Pompeii in 79AD.[558] The name Echio is also found in combination with names of other known pantomimes.[559] It is unclear whether the pantomimes themselves visited the house or if their considerable popularity inspired others to write their names. Perhaps Lucius Secundus' position as an *Augustianus* brought him in close contact with Paris, who was a favorite of Nero.[560]

[555] = Langner 274
[556] See **Figure 245**.
[557] See **Figure 246**.
[558] (Franklin 1987, 96) (Sogliano 1908)
[559] CIL IV 10643c (*Echio vale*) is located near graffiti naming Actius and Mysticus, other suspected pantomimists.
[560] (Franklin 1987, 96)

All of the graffiti in this area are located in the bath area of the house, which included the baths, latrine, and kitchen, an uncommon location for writing in my sample. One reason for the location of CIL IV 2375 is the particular nature of its message. It is a direct attack against the supposed owner this house. As I have already suggested, graffiti in atypical locations tend to be atypical in some other way, like height, size, or the content of the message. This example in an atypical location is also atypical in content, for attacks such as this are not common in my sample. Perhaps, the author needed to write this message in a less "controlled" area of the house given its transgressive nature. However, it was certainly quite visible as it is located near the latrine, a space most inhabitants would visit (at least) daily. This space, too, would have had a high presence availability for the inhabitants, who would use it regularly, but less so for visitors. The message, then, is quite clearly directed toward the inhabitants of the house. Furthermore, the graffito could not have been *too* damning or offensive since it was allowed to stand and had no marks of erasure.

James Franklin has connected the Ikarus and Salvius found in this house to graffiti found in the lupanar including:[561]

2177: Ikarus Θ

2173: Salvi filia
(above was a drawing of a man with a hat

Paris appears as well:

2179: [562] Calos Paris

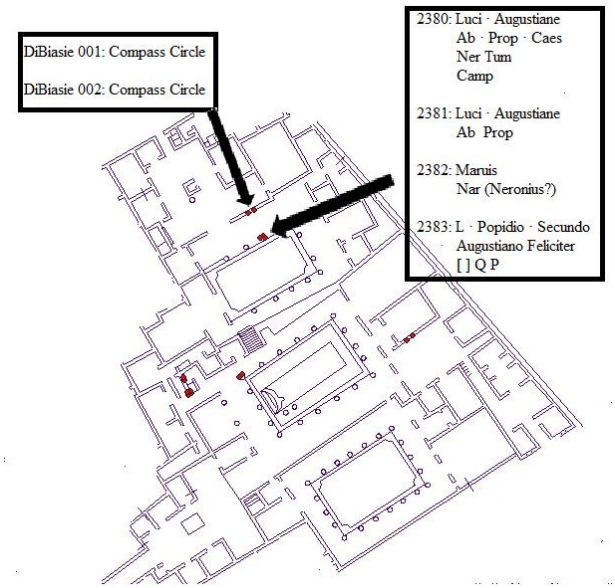
[561] (Franklin 1987)
[562] Cf. CIL IV 1294 *(Calos paris isse/ septentrio).* See also (Sogliano, L'attore Paride in Pompei 1908)

Franklin suggests that the correspondence between the two graffiti in the lupanar and in house I.4.5 indicates they concern the same individuals.[563] Franklin imagines that CIL IV 2177 (*Ikarus Θ*) was written as an attack after the insult of CIL IV 2173 (*Salvi filia*), a slight on Salvius' daughter.[564] He suggests that CIL IV 2375 (*Ampliate Icarus te pedicat Salvius scripsit*) then is an attempt by Salvius to hurt Icarus' reputation with his master (L. Popidius Ampliatus) in retaliation.[565] However, it seems that such an insult would be more damaging to reputation of Ampliatus than of Icarus.

The variance in spelling of Ikarus' name between CIL IV 2177 (Ikarus), 2369 (Ikarus) and 2375 (Icarus) is also worth noting. The spelling varies in CIL IV 2375 perhaps because Salvius wrote it. Certainly, spelling variance is common in Pompeian graffiti, even within the same graffito, but the difference in spelling between the graffito here probably suggests two different authors.

Several other graffiti are located in what is typically termed the upper peristyle[566]:

[563] (Franklin 1987, 326)
[564] Ibid.
[565] (Franklin 1987, 326) Though this interpretation is attractive, there is another possibility. Perhaps CIL IV 2375 represents a bickering between family members. There appears to have also been a Numerius Poperius Salvius (CIL IV 4229 N Popidius/ Salvius). The Numeri Popidii seem to be a separate branch from the Lucii Popidii. It is possible that the Salvius recorded here is a family member (or even freedman) of Ampliatus.
[566] See **Figure 247**.



2380: [567] Luci · augustiane
(h)ab(eas) · prop(itium) · caes(arem)
Ner(onem) tu(u)m
camp
(below a sketch of a tree, also in another hand)
[Lucius Augustianus, may your Caesar be well disposed to you]

2381: [568] Luci · augustiane
(h)ab(eas) prop(itium Caesarem)
[Lucius Augustianus, may your Caesar be well disposed to you]

2382:[569] Marius
nar
[Marius Neronius?]

2383: L · Popidio · Secundo
Augustiano feliciter
[--- Q P]
[Joyful greetings to Lucius Popidius Secundus Augustianus]

On the north wall of the north peristyle:

[567] *Camp* written in another hand. See **Figure 248**.
[568] Following (Della Corte 1964, 254). See **Figure 249**.
[569] See **Figure 250**.

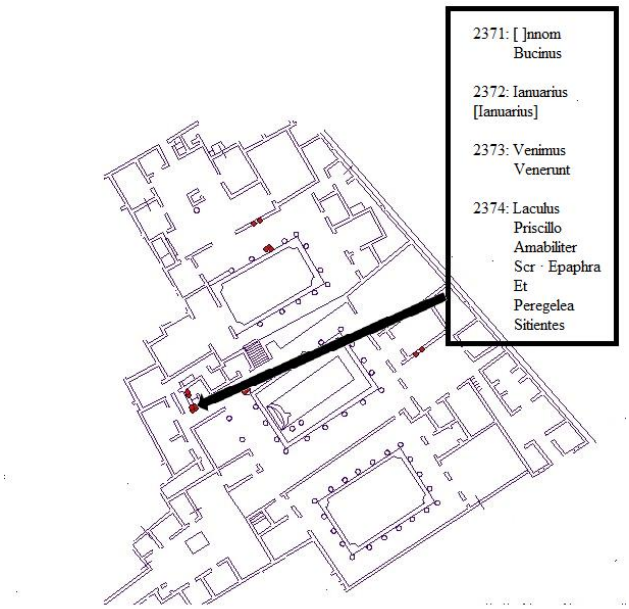
DiBiasie 01:[570] Compass Circle

DiBiasie 02:[571] Compass Circle

The particular nature of the graffiti in this peristyle -- compliments to the owner of the house (presumably by someone else) -- indicates that they were written here because the owner would have passed by this area and seen them. This was one of the most visible and integrated areas of the house so the probability for foot traffic is high. The position of Popidius Secundus as an *Augustianus* was evidently well known and celebrated.

Other graffiti were found in atypical locations, namely the columns of what is termed the *"lacus tetrastyli*" in the CIL, a vague term for the four-columned pool of the garden area found to the west of the middle peristyle (#32 on **Figure 27**).[572] The columns of this pool are in a visible location; one could pass them to travel between the middle peristyle and the latrine and bath suite adjoining it.

[570] See **Figure 251**.
[571] See **Figure 251**.
[572] See **Figure 252**.



2371:[573] [ ]nnom
Bucinus (in another hand)
[Bucinus/trumpeter]

2372: [574] Ianuarius
[Ianuarius]

2373: Venimus
venerunt
[We came, they came]

2374: [575] Laculus
Priscillo
amabiliter
scr(ipsit) · Epaphra[576]
et
Peregelea (pereg(it) Elea)
sitientes
[Laculus lovingly to Priscillus. Epaphra wrote it Elea finished it, both were thirsty]

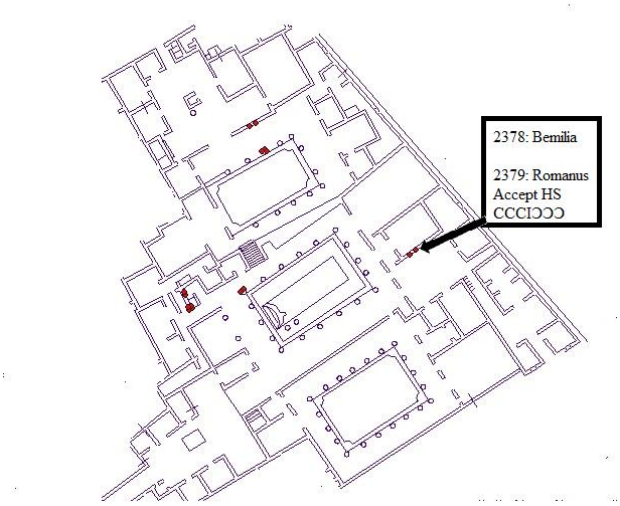
[573] If this is a name, it is unattested. See **Figure 253**. This could refer to a member of Nero's entourage, perhaps in conjunction with Lucius Popidius Secundus' role as an *augustianus*.
[574] This cognomen is never found among the decurional class. (Castrén 1975, 264)
[575] See **Figure 254**. C.f. CIL IV 4447 *Fonticulus · Pisciculo suo / p{u}lur[i]ma(m) salut*
[576] An Epaphra Istacidia (freedwoman of Lucius Istacidius) is mentioned in CIL X 910. Lines 4-7 are written in a different hand.

These graffiti include the "male name" type often seen in other spaces of the house like the *atrium* and peristyle. CIL IV 2373 (*Venimus / venerunt*) may be an example of the author practicing Latin conjugation. CIL IV 2374 (*Laculus / Priscillo / amabiliter / scr(ipsit) · Epaphra / et / Peregelea (pereg(it) Elea*) is a greeting and one of only two examples in all of Pompeian graffiti of a salutation not written by the greeter.[577] Given that lines 4-7 of the graffito were written in another hand it seems likely that Epaphra wrote the first three lines and Elea finished the last four. This is an example of an aggregative graffito, which are quite common among modern graffiti. The placement of this graffito may be important because of the name of the greeter, Laculus. The graffito was written in a place that modern excavators called a "lacus." It is unclear whether the Pompeians themselves would have identified this space as a *lacus, balneum, piscina, alveus,* or some other term. However, it is likely they would have recognized the play between the name of the author, Laculus, and its location on the column of a basin. Priscillus, too, may be alluding to a diminutive form of *piscis* while playing off the name Priscus.[578] *Sitientes* too enriches the double meaning of the graffito as it suggests physical thirst (therefore playing off its location by a pool) and sexual desire on the part of the authors.[579] So in essence the graffito would read, "Pool lovingly to little fish." Perhaps these names were pet names or nicknames. All of these graffiti are on a unique architectural feature and outside the typical places where graffiti are found. However, the

[577] (Milnor 2014, 166)
[578] See Add. 2374.
[579] Thank you to Rabun Taylor for this suggestion.

likelihood for pedestrian traffic makes it similar in essential features to spaces like the *atrium* and peristyle.

Other graffiti are found in the reception areas of the house. Room 19 is often called an *oecus* or just "ambiente" (room). It is a large space with frescos depicting the judgment of Paris. There is nothing in the architecture or decoration to aid in definitively identifying the use of the space, though it is likely that reception-type activities occurred in such a large and open area.



2378:[580] Bemilia
[Bemilia]

2379: [581] Romanus ----
accepit HS CCCIↃↃↃ
[Romanus accepted 100,000 Sesterces?]

[580] See **Figure 255**.
[581] See **Figure 256**. A backwards C, also called an apostrophic C, was used to form parentheses around the number. The numeral inside it was multiplied by 1000. Therefore, (I) is 1000, while (X) is 10,000. This graffito, then, is a huge amount. Cooley indicates that this is the amount Pompeian councilors might have had to possess. (2014, 294) In addition, the I of the graffito has a crossbar, perhaps making a drawing of a boat.

Numerals in reception spaces like this or the *atrium* are common. The size of the sum in CIL IV 2379, however, is unusual. This amount constituted the minimum net worth to qualify as a councilor or a quart of the wealth required for the equestrian order.[582] If it reflects a transaction, this graffito shows the immense wealth associated with the occupants of the house.

The graffiti in this house may indicate a change in the locus of activity from the *atrium* to the peristyle. However, even the graffiti in atypical locations demonstrate the importance of visibility and control. Several, especially those praising an owner of the house, are located in accessible, visible, and well-trafficked locations. Another graffito with a more subversive message was located in a less controlled but still accessible area of the house. The numeral graffito in the *oecus* indicates both the wealth of the owner and the suitability of reception areas for commercial activities. The Laculus inscription (CIL 374) plays off its proximity to the basin it was located nearby, demonstrating yet again the inextricability of graffiti and space.

This house and the preceding house show a change in distribution of graffiti from one centered in the *atrium* and the peristyle to one centered only in the peristyle. However, unlike the houses with atypical distributions in only the *atrium*, which did not contain normal peristyles, these houses had *atria* suitable for graffiti writing. Presuming the plaster in the *atria* was not too damaged at the time of discovery to preserve graffiti, the anomaly must be attributable to a difference in social practice and use of the rooms

[582] (Cooley & Cooley, 294)

within the house. It may not be a coincidence that the owners of the houses are believed to be a set of freedmen brothers (I.4.5) and a *fullo* (VI.14.20).[583] The status of these owners as freedmen in at least I.4.5 and perhaps VI.14.20 as well may have changed the ritualistic use of the *atrium* and instead transferred the majority of activity to the peristyle and the rooms surrounding it.

Spaces with Graffiti in the *Cubicula*

Graffiti appear frequently in *cubicula* in the following two buildings, though not frequently in my overall sample. The change in distribution from the *atrium* and peristyle to *cubicula* indicates a modification in the use of space within the buildings attributable to the function of both buildings as *hospitia* rather than *domus*.

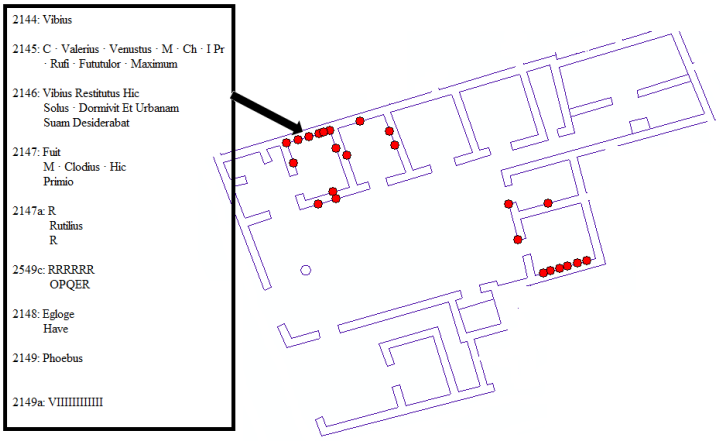
6.5 VII.12.35[584]

In Chapter Three, I identified this house as a *hospitium* on account of the placement of the graffiti and the analysis of the space syntax. In this section, I analyze the content of the graffiti to determine if their meaning can aid in understanding the

[583] Epigraphical evidence of *fullones* is predominately composed of slaves and freedmen, but this does not exclude the possibility for freeborn *fullones*. (Flohr 2013, 309). It is not my intent to label the owner of this house as belonging to any of these social groups. Rather, I suggest, that the graffiti evidence suggests that whatever his social status the owner and other inhabitants of the house did not use the *atrium* in a typical way.

[584] See also (Della Corte, 201) (Mau, 400) (Bullettino dell'instituto di corrispondenza archeologica per l'anno 1865)

spaces in which they were written. There are 24 graffiti in the house, the vast majority of which are located in *cubicula*.[585] In the first *cubiculum* of the left wall of the *atrium*:



2144: [586] Vibius
[Vibius]

2145: [587] C · Valerius · Venustus · m(iles)· coh(ortis) · I pr(aetoriae)
> · Rufi · fututulor(em?) · maximum
[Gaius Valerius Venustus soldier of the first praetorian cohort, century of Rufus, the greatest fucker][588]

2146: Vibius Restitutus hic
solus · dormivit et Urbanam
suam desiderabat
[Vibius Restitutus slept here alone and missed his Urbana]

[585] Unfortunately, the house is so dilapidated that most of the architectural features of the *cubicula* have been destroyed. It was impossible to examine the house for the presence of thresholds or remaining graffiti.
[586] See **Figure 257**.
[587] See **Figure 258**.
[588] Varone believes that it is possible the "ul" was added as a diminutive (the little fucker) by another hand for derogatory intent. (Varone 2002, 67)

2147: [589] Fuit
M · Clodius · hic
Primio
[Marcus Clodius Primio was here]

2147a: R
Rutilius
R
[R Rutilius R]

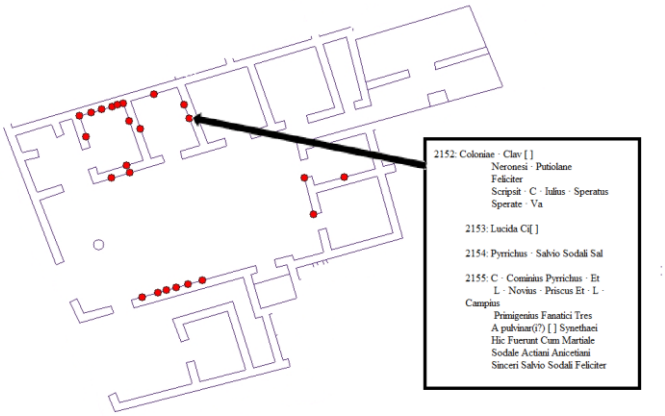
2549c: RRRRRR
OPQER
[Random letters]

2148: Egloge
have
[Egloge, hello]

` 2149: Phoebus
[Phoebus]

2149a: VIIIIIIIIIII
[16]

In the second *cubiculum* of the left wall:



[589] There are many Clodii in the epigraphic record but this graffito is the only example of Marcus Clodius Primio. (Castrén 1975, 155)

2152: [590] Coloniae · Clau(diae)
Neronesi · Putiolane
feliciter
scripsit · C · Iulius · Speratus
sperate · va(le)
[Benefiel 2004: Cheers for the Colonia [etc.]. C. Iulius Speratus wrote this]

2153: Luc̣ịda ci[ ]
[Lucida ?]

2154: Ṛyrrichus · Salvio sodali sal(ve)
[Pyrrichus says hello to his companion Salvius]

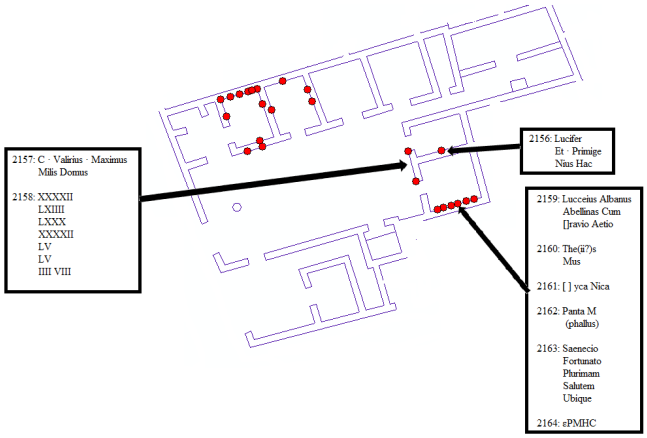
2155: C · Cominius Pyrrichus · et
L · Novius · Priscus et · L · Campius
Primigenius fanatici tres
a pulvinar(e)[591] [ ] Synethaei
hic fuerunt cum Martiale
sodale Actiani Anicetiani
sinceri Salvio sodali felic̣iter
[Gaius Cominius Pyrrichus and Lucius Novius Priscus and Lucius Campius Primigenius, three fans from the couch of Synethaeius, were here with their companion Martialis; the genuine Actius Anicetus troupe gives greetings to their companion Salvius."][592]

A unique feature of these graffiti is the use of *tria nomina* rather than single male names, which are more common in my overall sample. This indicates a degree of unfamiliarity within the community of writers. This observation aligns well with the hypothesized function of the building as a *hospitium*. Unlike in domestic space where the

[590] See **Figure 259**. The CIL does not suggest that the last line was written by another hand, though this would make the most logical sense.
[591] *Pulvinar* in any form is only found, assuredly, in this graffito in Pompeii. It is unclear to what it refers. Perhaps it could refer to a special seating area in the theater like the *pulvinar* in the Circus Maximus. Thank you to Rabun Taylor for this suggestion.
[592] I differ from Franklin's reading of the graffito. He says "even the gentilicial name of Anicetus has been modified . . . The whole remains cryptic, but apparently three devotees of one Synethaeus met here with Martialis, a fan of Actius Anicetus, and left their friend Salvius a salute repeated in CIL IV.2154 nearby." (Franklin 1987, 106) I read 'Actiani Anicetiani' not as a genitive going with *Martiale*, but as a nominative plural. Actius has been rendered as Actiani to make the nominative collective group form. Therefore, I translate it "The genuine Actius Anicetianus troupe gives greeting to their comrade Salvius." I assert that the three fans named earlier, Pyrricus, Priscus and Primigenius, are part of the Actius Anicetus group

visitors and inhabitants of the house may know the exact personage referred to by "*Marcus hic fuit,"* the visitors of the *hospitium* were mostly unknown to one another. The *tria nomina* served to identify and distinguish oneself among past and future visitors to the inn.

In the left *cubiculum* in the back wall:



2156: Lucifer
et · Primige
nius hac
[Lucifer and Primigenius (were) here]

In the right *cubiculum* of the back wall:

2159: [593] Lucceius Albanus
Abellinas cum
[ ]ravio Aẹtio
[Lucceius Albanus from Avellino (was here) with [ ]ravius Aetius]

2160: [594] Thes
mus
[Thesmus]

2161: [ ] yca nica

[593] It is possible Aetio is Actio (the same as CIL IV 2150). See **Figure 260**.
[594] A Lucius Albucius Themus is attested at Pompeii (CIL IV 2983 *L · Albucium · AED / Thesmus · Libert · rog)*

[[ ] Nike]

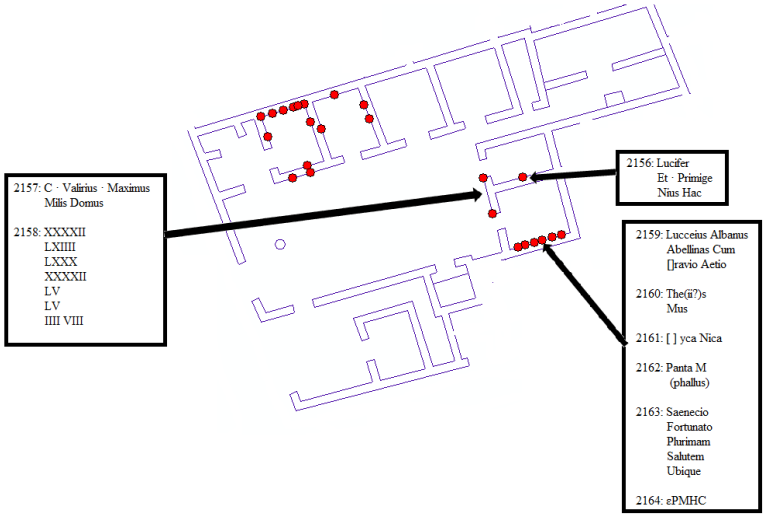
2162: [595] Panta M
caca(t?)
(sketch of a phallus)
[Pantomine? shits?]

2163: [596] Saenecio[597]
Fortunato
plurimam
salutem
ubique
[To Saenecius (Senecio?) Fortunatus, many greetings everywhere]

2164: ЄPMHC
(written on top of 2163)
[Hermes]

A few graffiti were found in the large *atrium* of this house. On the east wall between the doors of the two *cubicula*:

[595] See **Figure 261**.
[596] See **Figure 262**.
[597] This is typically interpreted as a name though perhaps *scaenici[orum]* which is often found in other graffiti associated with Actius Anicetus (CIL IV 5399 *Acti dominus / scaeicorum vale*). If so, it is likely *scaenicorum* agreed with another name in the nominative that is now lost since the name Fortunatus is not associated with this word.

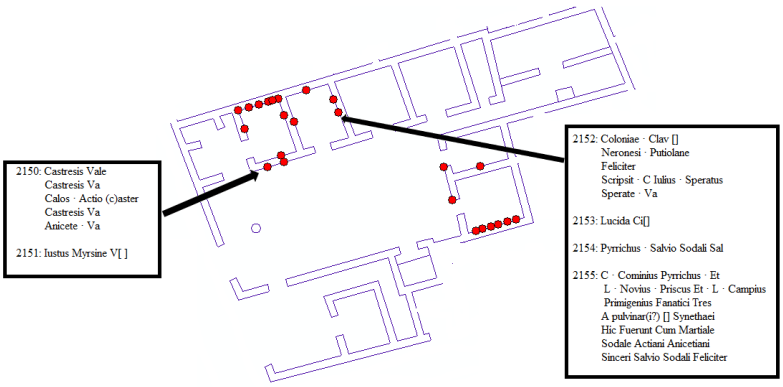


2157: [598] C · Valirius[599] · Maximus
milis dom^us
[Gaius Valerius Maximus; soldier of the house or Gaius Valerius; best soldier of the house]

2158: XXXXII
LXIIII
LXXX
XXXXII
LV
LV
IIII VIII
(three faces, standing figure[600])
[42; 64; 42; 55; 55; 4; 8]

In the north wall of the *atrium*:

[598] See **Figure 263**.
[599] Valerius is misspelled Valirius
[600] This graffito is no longer extant and a line drawing does not exist.



2150: Castre(n)sis vale
Castre(n)sis va(le)
Calos · Aḉtio (C)ast{e}r
Castre(n)sis v^a(le)
Aniceṭe · v^a(le)
[Castrensis, goodbye, Castrensis, goodbye; hurrah for Actius, Castrensis, Castrensis, goodbye, Anicetus, goodbye]

2151: [601] Iustus Myrsine v[a(le)]
[Iustus, goodbye Myrsinus]

The people in these graffiti are unlike those found in most Pompeian graffiti. CIL IV 2145 (*C · Valerius · Venustus · M · ch · I pr· Rufi · fututulor · maximum*) references Gaius Valerius Venustus, a soldier of the first praetorian cohort; a similar name is repeated in CIL IV 2157 in the *atrium* (*C • Valirius • Maximus milis domus*). It is possible they refer to the same individual. Further, as I will discuss shortly, in CIL IV 2150 (*Castre(n)sis vale Castre(n)sis va Calos • Actio (c)ast{e}rensis Castre(n)sis va Anicete • va*) are the names of a troupe of pantomimes and in CIL IV 2155 a group of fans. Finally, CIL IV 2152 indicates the presence of potential travelers from Puetoli

[601] See **Figure 264**.

(*Coloniae • Clav [] Neronesi • Putiolane feliciter scripsit • C Iulius • Speratus Sperate • va*). The diversity of people in these graffiti, soldiers, actors, people with servile names and the *tria nomina* supports the identification of this building as an inn. Further, at least one graffito CIL IV 2146 (*Vibius Restitutus hic solus · dormivit et Urbanam suam desiderabat*), indicates that the writer slept in the building and was not a daytime visitor as is suspected of the writers of many of the other graffiti in the corpus. Further, he probably wrote it in the very *cubiculum* where he slept.

CIL IV 2157 *(C • Valirius • Maximus milis domus*) is interesting for the use of *domus* if this building is, as I have suggested, an inn. *Domus* appears in several Pompeian graffiti including CIL IV 4853[602]in VII.15.12 which is usually identified as a *domus*, CIL IV 4749[603] in VII.7.5 the House of Triptolemus and CIL IV 6885 (*[f]ormonsa domus domino veneranda futura / hos N buci?).*[604] CIL IV 5065 (*Hic domus Papiriu Sabinum),* however, is located in building IX.3.19, now identified as a shop and bakery. The graffito was found in a storeroom near stairs, which may have led to living quarters upstairs. Of the words for "inn," *hospitium, stabulum, diversorium* or *caupona,* only *hospitium* appears in the corpus of Pompeian graffiti and only in CIL IV 807 (*Hospitium · hic · locatur/ triclinium · cum · tribus · lectis),* located on the façade of a supposed inn (VII.1.44), and CIL IV 3779 (*Hospitium / C Hugini Firmi),* which was found on the façade of a likely caupona (IX.7.21). Clearly, these graffiti function as

[602] (*Domus / domus Lupercus)*
[603] (*Domus est)*
[604] CIL IV 138, 1196, 1753, 4749, 4853, 5065, 6885 (Boscoreale)

advertisements or labels. Certainly, graffiti often mention the people who *work* at such establishments, but using the name for the building type was not as common.[605]

If *domus* refers to the building in which the graffito was written, it is unclear why the writer of CIL IV 2157 would have used *milis domus* rather than *milis hospitii* (or *milis stabuli*).[606] This may indicate that, in at least one Pompeian's mind, there was no typological difference between a *domus* and an inn. There is much work needed in this area. While our understanding of Roman commercial building types is advanced, it is still unclear how the Romans themselves thought about them.

The large proportion of graffiti in the *cubicula* is atypical and further indicates that the building was used differently than many of the domestic spaces I have analyzed. Many of the graffiti in these spaces are the "Rufus was here" type often seen in the peristyle: CIL IV 2146, "Vibius slept here"; in the same room CIL IV 2147, "Marcus Clodius Primio was here," and in another *cubiculum* CIL IV 2156, "Lucifer was here with Primigenius." There are many greetings including four "goodbyes" and two "hellos," four from *cubicula* and two from the *atrium*. I have shown in the last chapter that, in general, when in domestic space, the Pompeians chose to write in visible and easily accessed areas. Most graffiti in the *cubicula* are in inaccessible and not highly visible areas. However, although not immediately visible from the *atrium*, for example, they *were* the most visible to the patrons of the establishment who used these spaces as

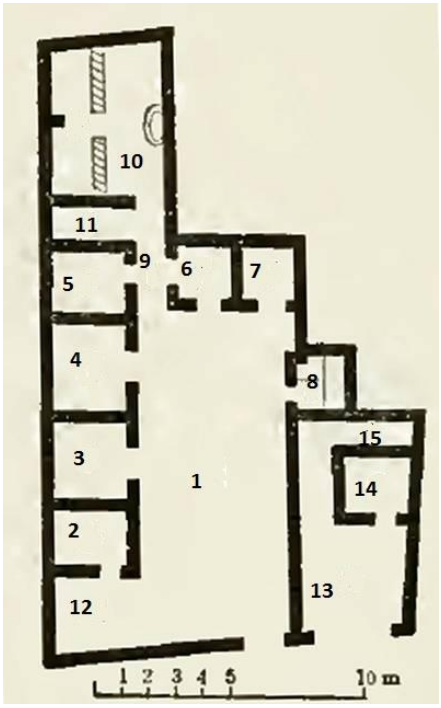
[605] For *caupo* see CIL IV 336, 494 (add.194), 537 (add.195), 814, 241, 629 (add.195), 1048, 1848, 3502, 3948, 4034, 4100, 5341, 6700, 683

[606] *Milis stabuli* may be the most accurate appellation since it appears the structure included stalls and storage areas. (De Felice 2001, 281) It is important to note, however, that Roman authors used these terms interchangeably, notably *deversorium*, *stabulum*, *synoecium*, *taberna*, and *hospitium* in Petronius' Satyricon. (De Felice 2001, 21)

guestrooms. The change in function (from domestic space to inn) changes the use of space within the building. The graffiti in this house are frequently viewed though they are not in the most "visible" locations.

However, although six rooms were identified as *cubicula*, graffiti were only written in four of them.[607] This may indicate that rooms 4 and 5 were not guest rooms.[608] They are closer to the stable (room 10), so it is possible they served a more utilitarian purpose.

[607] There seems to be some disagreement between Mau and the CIL on the location of these graffiti. Mau states that there are six sleeping rooms (b-g; 2-6 on my plan). Mau states that CIL IV 2145 and 2146 were found in *cubiculum* C (room 3 on my plan, see **Figure 31**. However, the CIL says these graffiti were located in the in the *first* of the three *cubicula*, which are in the left (north) part of the *atrium*. This would be room 2 on my plan. Mau states that CIL IV 2155 is located in the same *cubiculum*. However, the CIL says that this graffito is located in the *second cubiculum* of the same wall of the *atrium*. The two cannot be reconciled and since the graffiti have now disintegrated it may be impossible to determine which version is correct. Mau states that CIL IV 2152 was found in the second *cubiculum* (room d, 4 on my plan). However, it is clear in the CIL IV 2152 was found in the same as *cubiculum* as 2155; again a difference that cannot be reconciled. The *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 1865 also places CIL IV 2152 and 2155 in the *second cubiculum*. Mau's identification of CIL IV 2156 and 2159 is consistent with the CIL. I have followed the CIL in my placement of the graffiti in my GIS map and plans.
[608] See **Figure 31**.



(Illustration 6.3: VII.12.35 from (Mau 1904, 200), numbers added by author)

Nothing in the archaeological record suggests they either were or were not *cubicula*. Alternatively, the conglomeration of graffiti in only a few rooms may show the "clustering" effect identified by Benefiel.[609] Rooms that already have graffiti in them tend to inspire additional graffiti writing in the same area.

CIL IV 2152 (*Coloniae • Clau(diae) / Neronesi • Putiolane / feliciter / scripsit • C • Iulius • Speratus / Sperate • va(le)*) deserves closer examination. Benefiel, in her study of Campanian regional networks, has found that unlike many of the Campanian cities mentioned in graffiti only Puteoli is always referred to by its status as a *colonia*.[610] It appears that Puteoli's recent honor of the *ius colonia* and new title conferred by Nero was

[609] (Benefiel 2010a, 76)
[610] (Benefiel 2010a, 154)

greeted enthusiastically by its citizens and highlighted in graffiti from Pompeii.[611] Benefiel connects the local popularity of Nero to his wife Poppaea Sabina, who was from the area.[612] The location of this greeting may indicate that the author expected citizens of Puteoli to visit and see his message in this *cubiculum.* Given the nature of the *hospitium*, an abundance of guests from Puteoli seems likely.

Several graffiti in the inn suggest the presence of pantomimes. James Franklin has written on the presence of one pantomime, Actius Anicetus, within the epigraphical record of Pompeii.[613] The placement of *calos Castrensis* in several other graffiti (CIL IV 2179) next to graffiti about another pantomime (*calos Paris* CIL IV 2180) suggests that this Castrensis was probably an actor if not member of Anicetus' troupe,[614] which is also attested at Herculaneum.[615] The presence of fans of the troupe is also evident in CIL IV 2155.[616] It appears that three fans of Synethaeus (otherwise unknown) -- Gaius Cominius Pyrrichus, Lucius Novius Priscus and Lucius Campius Primigenius -- were at the inn with Martialis. I read "Actiani Anicetiani" as the nominative collective group form, a *collegium* of fans, so the three fans named earlier, Pyrrichus, Priscus, and Primigenius, are part of the Actius Anicetus group. Franklin's interpretation would require a straightforward genitive of the proper name, "Acti Aniceti." Further evidence is the fact

[611] (Benefiel 2010a, 154) For a fuller discussion of other Campanian towns in the graffiti see (Benefiel 2005) and (Benefiel 2004)
[612] (Benefiel 2010a, 62)
[613] (Franklin 1987) CIL IV 1646, 2150, 2413d, 3891, 4471, 4479, 4965, 5395, 5399, 5404, 060, 8813, 8827, 9077, 10175a, 10535, 10643a, 10643c.
[614] (Franklin, 100)
[615] Ibid., 106
[616] *C · Cominius Pyrrichus · et L · Novius · Priscus et · L · Campius Primigenius fanatici tres a pulvinar(i?) [ ] Synethaei hic fuerunt cum Martiale sodale Actiani Anicetiani sinceri Salvio sodali feliciter*

that Pyrrichus greets Salvius in another graffito from the same house (CIL IV 2154 *Pyrrichus · Salvio Sodali Sal).* Since the Actiani Anicetiani greet Salvius, it follows that Pyrrichus was one of this group. Further, *panta m* of CIL IV 2162 could certainly have been the beginning of *pantomimus,* though without more evidence this remains only a suggestion.

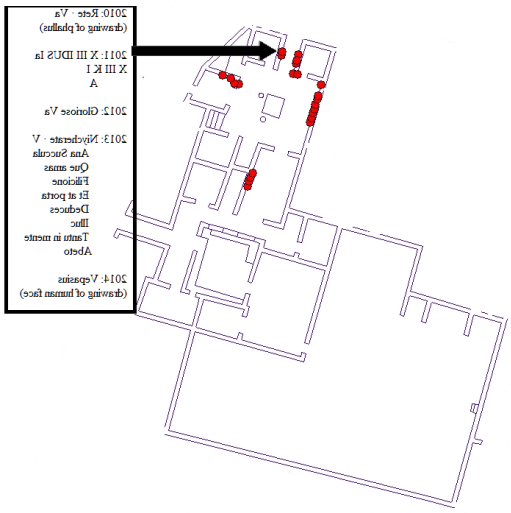
The presence of *calos* in CIL IV 2150 (*Castre(n)sis vale / Castre(n)sis va(le) / Calos · Açtio (C)ast{e}r / Castre(n)sis v^a(le) / Anicetę · v^a(le)*) also warrants further reflection. Recently, Sarah Levin-Richardson has tied the appellation of *calos* to the presence of actors.[617] She asserts that *calos* was often used to describe people (mostly men) who would have been *infames,* including actors, prostitutes, or both. This suggestion clarifies the ways even simple greetings could serve to classify and distinguish individuals within the epigraphic record.

In conclusion, graffiti of travelers (at least one of them likely from Puteoli), actors and fans, and soldiers indicate the presence of a diverse group of people in this space. The quantity of graffiti in the *cubicula* indicates that the building was not used like many of the domestic buildings in my corpus. The number of salutations and "I was here" graffiti in the *cubicula* indicate these were well-travelled areas. The writers of these graffiti expected that the next visitors to the *cubicula* would see their salutations. All this evidence corroborates my assertion based on space syntax that this building was used as an inn and not as domestic space.

[617] "Calos graffiti and infames at Pompeii," Archaeological Institute of America Annual Meeting 2015; examples include CIL IV 4.1294 add.206, 1679 add.210, 463, 704; 2150 add. 215, 2179, 2180, 4567, and 5018.

6.6 Casa/*Hospitium* dei Cristiani (VII.11.11)

The space is typically called the Casa dei Cristiani/*Hospitium* dei Cristiani due to a graffito found in the *atrium* of the house (CIL IV 679). The interpretation of this graffito is contested because it may suggest the presence of Christians in Pompeii, a much-debated assertion.[618] Like house VII.12.35, this house has graffiti in small rooms off the *atrium*, typically termed *cubicula,* and multiple graffiti in the *atrium.* In the entry of the house were:[619]



2010: Rete · v^a(le)
(drawing of phallus)
[Retus goodbye]

[618] (P. Berry 1931) It is not my intention to enter into this debate. I have located the graffito in the *atrium* on maps, though I will not use this graffito as evidence concerning the potential presence of Christians in Pompeii. See also (Giordano, C. and Kahn, I., 2001, *The Jews in Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae, and in the Cities of Campania Felix*; Baldi, A., 1964, *La Pompei: giudaico-cristiana*; Maiuri, A., 1939, "La Croce di Ercolano"; Farioli, R., 1970, "La Croce di Ercolano, Rassegna di studi."

[619] See **Figure 265**.

` 2011: X III idus ia(nuarias)
X III k(alendas) i(anuarias)
[A][620]
[10 on January 11th, 10 on December 30th]

2012: [Gl]oriose v^a(le)
[Gloriosus, goodbye]

2013[621]: Niycherate · v
ana succula
qu(a)e amas
Filicione(m)
et at porta(m)
deduces
illuc
tantu(m) in mente
(h)abeto[622]
[Nicerate, vain slut, you who love Felicio and lead him to the gate, there just keep in mind…]

2014: Vepasiu[s]
(drawing of human face)
[Vespasianus]

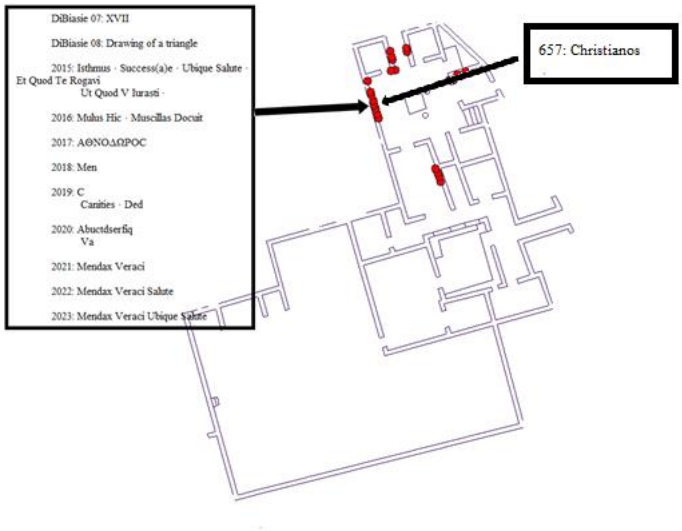
2544:[623] ABUCTDSERFIQ
[alphabet alternation in forward and retrograde; some mistakes]

Graffiti in entry spaces are not common in my sample (5% of the total); drawings and single male names are the most common types found in them. CIL IV 2013 (*Niycherate · v / ana succula qu(a)e amas / Filicione(m) / et at porta(m) / deduces / illuc / tantu(m) in mente / (h)abeto*) is unique in both its content and length. Graffiti in the entryway are typically short messages, drawings, and greetings. This graffito is incomplete and the meaning is slightly unclear, but the jealousy of the writer is obvious.

[620] See **Figure 266**. Since it would be very odd to count back 13 from the Ides instead of using the Kalends, I separate the X from the III in my understanding of this graffito.
[621] Of the nine attestations, the name "Felicio" never appears in the decurional class. (Castrén 1975, 264)
[622] See **Figure 267**.
[623] See **Figure 268**.

There are multiple grammatical or spelling mistakes, likely phonetic spellings (quae, Felicionem, at portam) showing the colloquial nature of the writing. CIL IV 2014 *Vespasius* is perhaps a reference to the emperor Vespasian. The drawing under the graffito could be a caricature of the emperor, but unfortunately, no reproduction survives.

The *atrium* of this house has a multitude of graffiti:[624]



DiBiasie 07:[625] XVII
[17]

DiBiasie 08:[626] Drawing of a triangle

2015: Isthmus · Success(a)e · ubique salute(m) · et quod te rogavi
ut quod [V] iurasti ·
[Isthmus greets Successa everywhere and I ask that you do? that you which you swore]

2016:[627] Mulus hic · muscillas docuit
[Mulus ("Mule") taught nags here]

[624] See **Figures 269-271**.
[625] See **Figures 272-273**.
[626] See **Figures 274-275**.
[627] See **Figure 276**.

2017: AΘHNOΔΩPOC
[Athenodorus]

2018: Men(dax)
[Mendax]

2018a: Mendax Veraci
[Mendax (greets) Verax]

2018b: Mendax Veraci salute(m)
[Mendax greets Verax]

2018c: [628] Mendax Veraci ubique salute(m)
[Mendax (greets) Verax everywhere]

2019: C
canities · ded[629]
[The white one gave?]

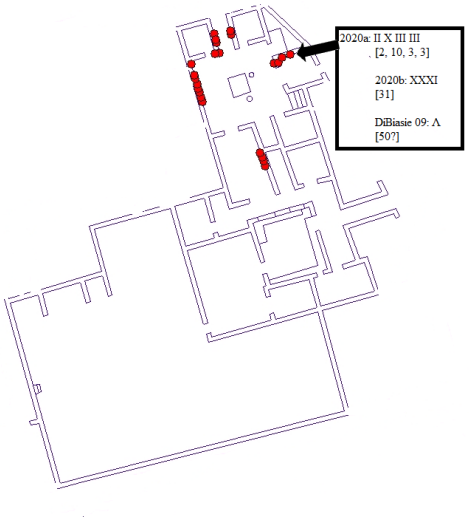
679: Christianos[630]
(written in charcoal)
[Christians]

The types of graffiti found in this *atrium* include numerals, greetings, a Greek male name, and several whose meaning is unclear. CIL IV 2018a-c are likely greetings between two people using pseudonyms (Liar greets Truthful).[631] The number of graffiti in this *atrium* in comparison to the dearth of graffiti in the peristyle is abnormal. Coupled with graffiti in *cubiculum* (see below), this suggests a different pattern of use than the houses of "typical" graffiti concentrations, probably because the space is a *hospitium*, as has been suggested. Like VII.12.35, the main functional space within the building besides the *cubicula* (guest rooms) was the *atrium*. Unlike VII.12.35, however, this

[628] See **Figure 277**.
[629] See CIL IV 8083 (*Canite s)*
[630] The interpretation of this inscription is debated see Add. 679.
[631] (Milnor 2014, 166)

house has what has traditionally been termed a peristyle, large and divided into three garden areas; it may have been used more as a kitchen garden, perhaps to feed guests, than for entertaining. The lack of visitors in the area due to the building being a *hospitium* coupled with a possible change in its function from reception space to agricultural area reduced the likelihood of graffiti writing.

Like building VII.12.35, this building contains graffiti in spaces off the *atrium*. In a small room off the east side of the *atrium*, typically termed a *cubiculum*, were several graffiti.[632] All of them are numerical graffiti, typical for such a space:



2020a[633]: II ∗ III III[634]
[2, denarii, 3, 3]

2020b: ∗ XXI
[denarii 21]

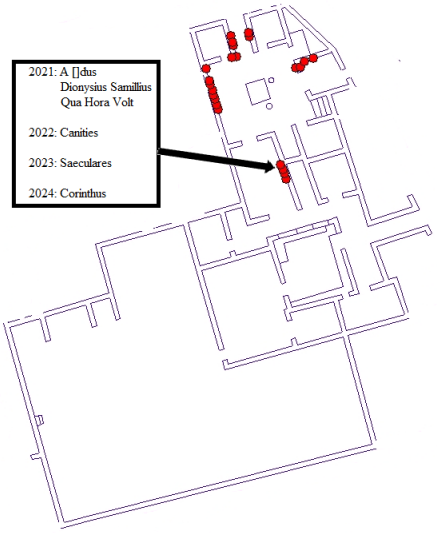
DiBiasie 09: [635] Λ
[50?]

[632] See **Figures 278-279**.
[633] Found and photographed June 2013. See **Figures 280-281**.
[634] The six-pointed star was a symbol for *denarius*.
[635] The six-pointed star was a symbol for *denarius*.

While buildings VII.12.35 and VII.11.11 contain similar distribution patterns of graffiti, the contents of these graffiti are quite different. In building VII.12.35, we saw a multitude of graffiti in the *cubicula* as well as a few in the *atrium*. The content of the graffiti, greetings and especially greetings from visitors, suggested the building was an inn. The content of the graffiti in the *cubiculum* in the Casa dei Cristiani is different. Here, there are no greetings – only numerals, which are more similar to the graffiti found in *cubicula* of domestic space. It is possible, as others have suggested, that the guest rooms of this *hospitium* were on the upper story.[636] The access analysis and distribution of graffiti suggest that the arrangement of rooms in the building is aligned closer to other *hospitia* than to domestic space, but the content of the graffiti, in this case, simply do not help in illuminating the building's function.

The following graffiti were found in the space connecting the *atrium* off entrance VII.11.11 to the garden areas at the back of the house.[637] This room is identified as a *membrum* in the *CIL* and as a *tablinum* in other sources.[638] It does not have any of the typical features of the *cubiculum* (hinge sockets, single entrance, bed alcove, high windows), but it is not in the typical location of *tablinum* (large room in axis with the *atrium* and peristyle, often with hinge sockets). However, the atypical arrangement of the house may account for the unusual placement.

[636] (Sampaolo 1997, 465)
[637] See **Figures 284-285**.
[638] (Sampaolo 1997, 467)



2021 +add.214[639]: Dionysius
qua hora volt
[l]icet Chalare
(compass drawing)
[Dionysius wishes, on which hour (?), Chalarus is permitted (?)]

2022: Canities
[whiteness/old age]

2023: [640] Saeculares
[ages]

2024: A[man]dus
Corinthus
[Amandus / Corinthus]

CIL IV 2022 *Canities* is similar to CIL IV 2019 *C Canities · Ded*, found in the *atrium*. This indicates continuity between the two spaces and suggests the same writer wrote both graffiti. It is likely the author was allowed in both spaces which, if the

[639] CIL IV 2021-2023 are in the same hand.
[640] Perhaps this could refer to the Ludi Saeculares held in 47AD. Thank you to Rabun Taylor for this suggestion.

identification of the room as a *tablinum* is correct, seems likely. If this building was a *hospitium*, it is unclear what activities would have occurred in the *tablinum*.

In conclusion, the distribution of graffiti in both buildings I have identified as inns, VII.11.11 and VII.12.35, focus in the *atrium* and rooms adjoining it. This change can be attributed to the function of both buildings as *hospitia* rather than *domus*. Even so, the content of the graffiti in the inns varied between the two buildings. VII.11.11 has a large quantity of graffiti from a cast of unusual characters (soldiers, actors, fans, travelers) that speaks to the function of the building. By contrast, VII.12.35 contained graffiti more typical of the domestic buildings in my corpus, though the distribution of these graffiti was still irregular. These two building show the need for multifaceted analysis of graffiti; quantitative analysis or an analysis of the content of the graffiti in isolation is not enough.

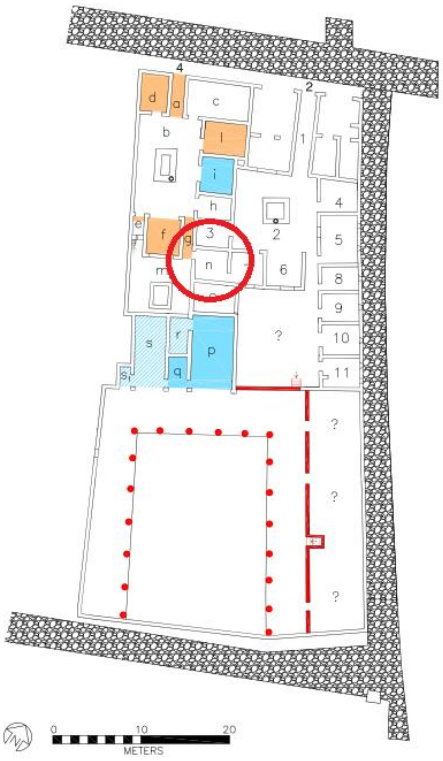
Anomalies: Spaces with Atypical Graffiti Distributions

6.7 Casa del Sacello Iliaco (I.6.4)[641]

This house was so named due to the magnificent lararium depicting the Trojan War. It was joined to house I.6.2, the House of the Cryptoporticus, at some point in its

[641] Nearly all of the graffiti in this house that were recorded in the CIL were found and photographed due to the excellent preservation of the rooms.

history.[642] Several scholars have suggested the two houses were joined through a doorway, perhaps in Room N, which was later blocked off.

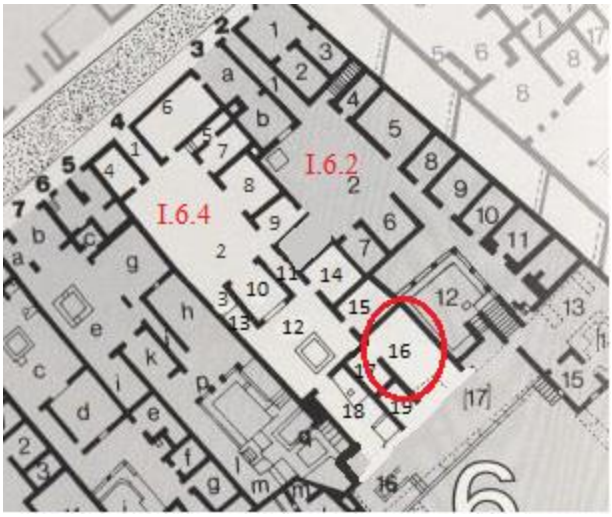


(Illustration 6.4: I.6.4., from Raabe 2013, 266; red highlight circle my own)

However, these scholars do not provide pictures of this blocked up door between the houses, which makes it difficult to validate this supposed connection.[643] If Room N connected the two houses, the route between them would have been quite circuitous. For these reasons and in the absence of more concrete evidence, I find this join in Room N unlikely.

[642] (Raabe 2013) (Foss 1994) (Spinazzola 1953) Contra: (Maiuri, Studi e recherché intorno alla 'Casa del Criptoportico 1933).
[643] (Raabe 2013) (Spinazzola 1953)

There is much disagreement as to the exact timing of the possible joining of the two houses and redecoration of rooms in I.6.4 in the fourth style. Several rooms have coarse replastering that was unfinished at the time of the eruption. According to Della Corte, the entire house was in the process of redecoration in 79 while Strocka suggests that redecoration stopped after the earthquake of AD 62.[644]



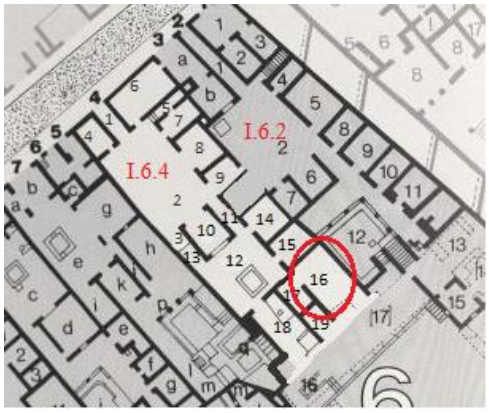
(Illustration 6.5: I.6.4 from (Bragantini 1990, 280); red circle and numbers added by the author)

However, there is much less doubt that Room 16, where the majority of the graffiti were found, was joined to the house behind it at some point. The room is traditionally called an *oecus*, but the wall and floor decoration, as I will explain, indicate it was meant specifically for dining, a function not necessarily conveyed by the term *oecus*. Because of this discrepancy, I call it Room 16 for the remaining discussion. Early in its history, this room (and Room 17 to the west) belonged to I.6.2 to the south. Room 17, then, only accessed from Room 16, may have served as a storage or preparation area

[644] (Della Corte 1913, 356) (Strocka 1984) (Allison 2004)

for the dining room. Further, the doorway to room 17 must have been seldom used as it would have been blocked or impeded by the couches within the room (see below).

The orientation of room 16 for much of its history remained unchanged. The room faced south, as is dictated by the floor and wall decoration, and when joined to the House of the Cryptoporticus, it would have been extraordinary. It looked out to the gardens of the Cryptoporticus and the mountains beyond, a beautiful vista for summer dining.[645]



(Illustration 6.6: I.6.4 from (Bragantini 1990, 280); red circle and numbers added by the author)

At some point, the houses were separated and this room and the two rooms to its west were joined to house I.6.4.

[645] (Foss 1994, 148)

(Illustration 6.7: I.6.4 from (Bragantini 1990, 280); red circle and numbers added by the author)

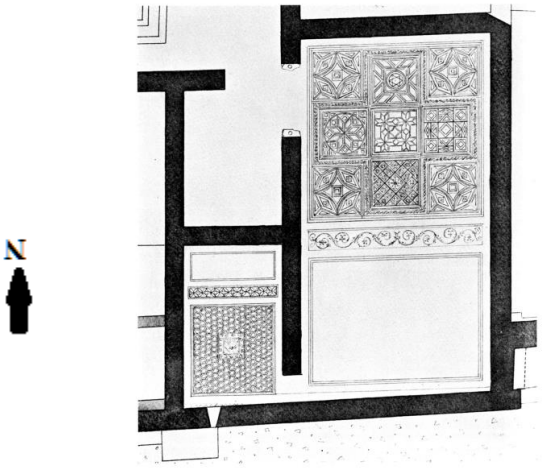
Following the separation and reconfiguration, perhaps after the earthquake of 62 AD,[646] several architectural changes occurred including the construction of the south wall closing off rooms 16, 18 and 19 from the House of Crytoporticus and its gardens. This wall is clearly of secondary construction and was left coarsely plastered, thus providing evidence of the newness of the separation. A doorway was formed in the north wall of room 17 to join these rooms with house I.6.4. Perhaps the earthquake of AD 62 was the catalyst for this separation.

Even though several walls of the house remained undecorated, it appears the house was still in use at the time of the eruption. Michael Anderson has written on the location of building materials in Pompeian houses and the disruptions in daily life after

[646] Interpretations vary concerning the exact date of this separation. Maiuri and Della Corte argue that the separation occurred after the earthquake of AD 62, which caused the owners of the House of the Cyrpto*porticus* to part with these rooms (Maiuri 1942, Della Corte 1913). All the refurbishing activity in the other rooms in the house took place after the earthquake of 62. Strocka argues that the refurbishment/redecoration occurred *until* the earthquake of AD 62 and then stopped (Strocka 1984). However, the course plaster at the southern end of this room does not seem to be the base layer of a further layer, which suggests that the owners of the house did not have the means (or intention) to redecorate this room. (Allison 2004) Allison notes that this course replastering, as well as building materials found in the courtyard adjoining this room, suggests that normal activities were not occurring here during final occupancy. (Allison 2004)

the earthquake of 62 AD.[647] Excavation notes record a pile of gypsum in room 6, gypsum in room 18, lime in room 12, and other building material in room 15.[648] The piles were positioned to be inconspicuous from more public areas of the house, yet accessible to the workers, indicating that the house was still in use.[649] This fact, along with the discovery of domestic items like jewelry, furniture legs, and other items in a box in the *tablinum* (room 10) removes all doubt that the house was still occupied in 79.

Room 16 is also known as the Sala degli Elefanti due to the magnificent second-style megalographic frieze representing elephants on its walls.[650] The room is divided into a profusely decorated area on the north side and a less decorated *antecamera*: the south portion of the room that is sharply delineated from the rest of the room by both the mosaic floor and the wall painting



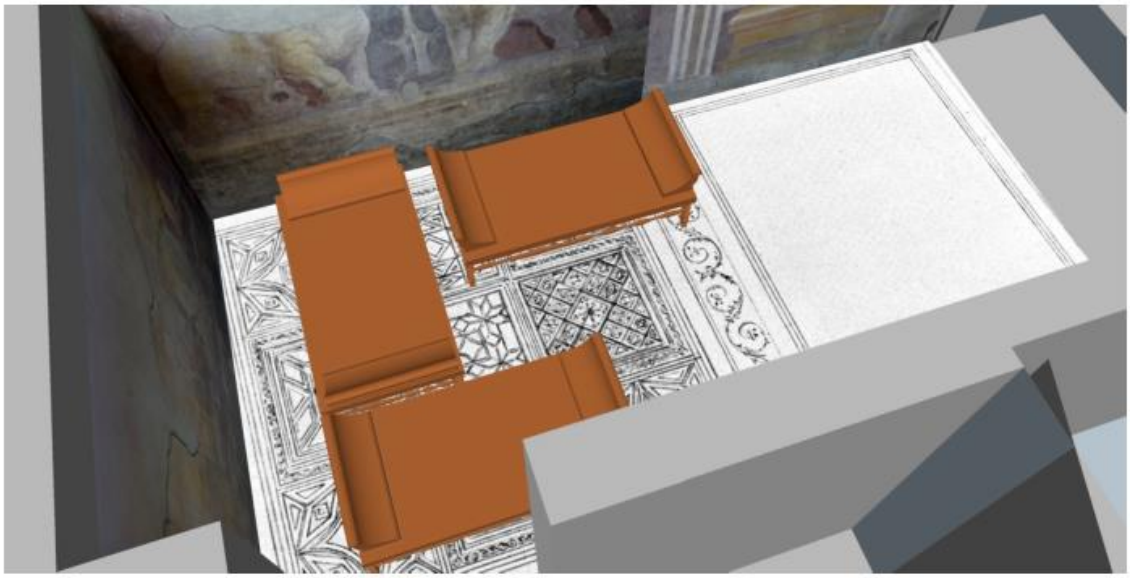
(Illustration 6.8: Rooms 16 and 19, from Spinazzola 1953, fig. 108)

[647] (Anderson 2011)
[648] (Anderson, 72)
[649] Ibid.
[650] See **Figures 286-288**.

On the east wall of the room is the frieze of two elephants ridden by cupids surrounding a candelabrum.[651] On the north wall are two seated philosophers or a philosopher and a muse in front of a globe while on the west wall near the door is a depiction of Clio holding a scroll. The walls of the *antecamera* feature simple second style decoration of red orthostats with green and yellow bands.[652] The mosaic floor complements the decoration of the wall. It features an elaborate polychrome pattern of stars and scrolls in nine sections in the north part of the room. In the same area (though not precisely) where the megalographic frieze ends is a scroll border delineating the main area from the *antecamera*. The mosaic in the *antecamera* is a simple monochrome carpet. The division into service area (*antecamera*) and reception area is common among dining

[651] (Bragantini 1990, 324)
[652] (Raabe 2013, 171)

spaces.[653] Further, this feature is particularly common in second style decoration.[654]



(Illustration 6.9: Room 16 as a *triclinium*, from Raabe 2013, 367)

This reconstruction by Raabe (above) demonstrates a possible layout of the room as a dining room when it opened onto the *loggia* overlooking the garden to the south. As is obvious, access to Room 17 (doorway at bottom of reconstruction) was limited but possible. The decoration of the walls and the floors complements the placement of the couches and clearly delineates the *antecamera* from the dining area.

When separated from the *loggia* and garden, the room probably changed orientation. Couches arranged on the north side looking south would have impeded access to Room 17 and would have provided a vista of a large, unfinished wall – hardly suitable for elite Roman dining. The room may still have functioned in a dining capacity

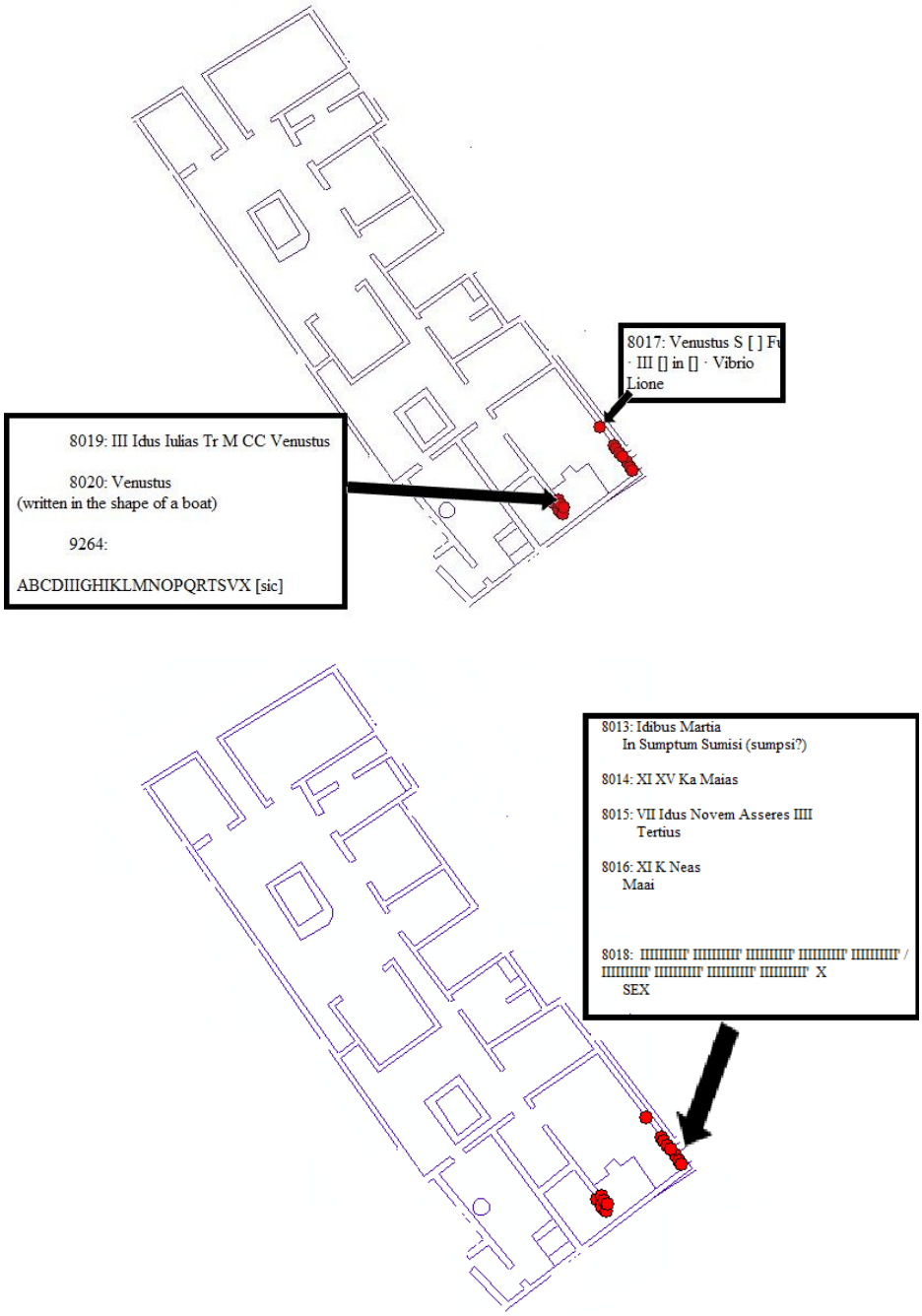
[653] (Foss 1994, 106)
[654] Ibid. (Dickmann 1999, 216-218)

but, if so, the orientation of the couches must have been reserved, unavoidably restricting access to room 19, a small adjoining *cubiculum*. Probably, the room ceased to accommodate dining or continued to do so only in a limited way (temporally or spatially). The possibility for reception activities in this space remains.

The distribution of graffiti in this house centers in only two rooms: 16 and 19.[655] This distribution finds no parallel in other houses of my corpus. For this reason I have suggested, on the basis of access analysis, that the distribution of graffiti in this house has more in common with house I.6.2, to which the room once belonged, than with this house, which has no other graffiti within it. I hypothesized that the graffiti (or at least most of them) in this room were written when the room belonged to I.6.2. In the following section, I will examine the placement of the graffiti within the room and their content to determine to corroborate or refute such a hypothesis.

The following graffiti were found in house I.6.4:

[655] The combination of *triclinium/cubiculum* suites is common feature from the first half of the first century BC. (Raabe 2013, 176) (Clarke 1998, 157-159) (Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 57-60) (Dickmann 1999, 28)


8017: Venustus S [ ] Fu
· III [] in [] · Vibrio
Lione
8019: III Idus Iulias Tr M CC Venustus
8020: Venustus
(written in the shape of a boat)
9264:
ABCDIIIGHIKLMNOPQRTSVX [sic]
8013: Idibus Martia
In Sumptum Sumisi (sumpsi?)
8014: XI XV Ka Maias
8015: VII Idus Novem Asseres IIII
Tertius
8016: XI K Neas
Maai
8018: IIIIIIIIII' IIIIIIIII' IIIIIIIII' IIIIIIIII' IIIIIIIII' /
IIIIIIIII' IIIIIIII' IIIIIIII' IIIIIIII' X
SEX

DiBiasie 20: [656] AS
S
S
S
Simi [ ] (drawing of deer)

8013: [657] Idibus Martia
in sumptum sumi̯si (sumpsi?)
[On the ides of March, I submitted as an expense]

8014: [658] XI XV ka(lendas) Maias
[April 22nd, April 18th]

8015: VII idus Novem(bres) asseres IIII
tertius[659]
[November 7th, 4 beams, third][660]

8016:[661] XI k(alendas) Iulias
maai
[June 21st]

8017: [662] Venustus S [ ] Fu · III [] in [] · Vibrio Lionę
[Venustus [ ] 3 in [ ] from Vibrius, Leo]

8018: [663] IIIIIIIIII' IIIIIIIIII' IIIIIIIIII' IIIIIIIIII' IIIIIIIIII'
IIIIIIIIII' IIIIIIIIII' IIIIIIIIII' IIIIIIIIII' X
sex

8019: [664] III idus Iulias tr(itici) m(odios) CC
[July 11th, three *modi* of wheat, 200]

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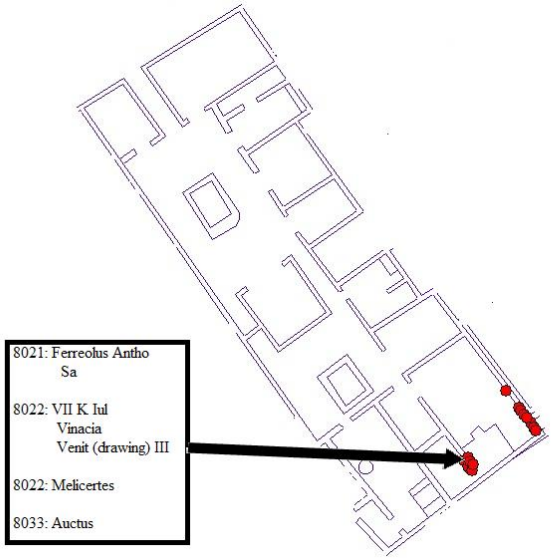
[656] See **Figures 289-291**.
[657] See **Figures 292-293**.
[658] See **Figures 294-295**.
[659] See **Figures 296-297**.
[660] See also Vitruvius 7.3.1 for the construction of *camera* vaults: *asseres directi disponantur inter se ne plus spatium habentes pedes binos*
[661] See **Figures 298-299**.
[662] See **Figures 300- 301**. Venustus is attested as a cognomen in three Pompeian families. Liberius Venustus (CIL IV 3107), Sesius Venustus (CIL IV 1082 and 2076) and Gaius Valerius Venustus (CIL IV 2145)
[663] See **Figure 302**.
[664] See **Figures 303-305**.

8020: [665] Venustus
(written in the shape of a boat)

9264: [666] ABCDIIIGHIKLMNOPQRTSVX [---]

DiBiasie 021: NL?F CYX
[?]

And in the adjoining room:[667]



8021: [668] Ferreoluș Antho
sa(lutem)
[Ferreolus says hello to Anthus]

8022: [669] VII k(alendas) Iul(ias)
vinacia[670]
venit (drawing) ~~III~~ II
[June 25th, grape skins comes with 32 ?]

[665] See **Figure 306**.
[666] See **Figures 307-308**.
[667] See **Figures 309-312**.
[668] See **Figures 313-314**.
[669] See **Figures 316-318**.
[670] I interpret this as a variant of *vinacea, vinacae f.* grape husk, grape skin; it is unattested as a cognomen in Kajanto; possibly also *vinaria*, attested in CIL IV 1819

8023: Melicertes[671]
[Melicertes]

8024: Auctus
[Auctus]

The graffiti in these two rooms are distinctive as they are, primarily economic in nature. CIL IV 8013-8016, 8019, and 8021 all contain dates from April to November. Although the meanings of the graffiti are not clear, *in sumptum, asseres m(odium),* and *vinacia* indicate that agricultural accounts were being recorded on the walls of the room. These graffiti may seem atypical for a room such as an *oecus* or *triclinium*. However, of the graffiti identified as "commercial" in my sample, many of them occur in rooms not typically thought of as places of business.[672]

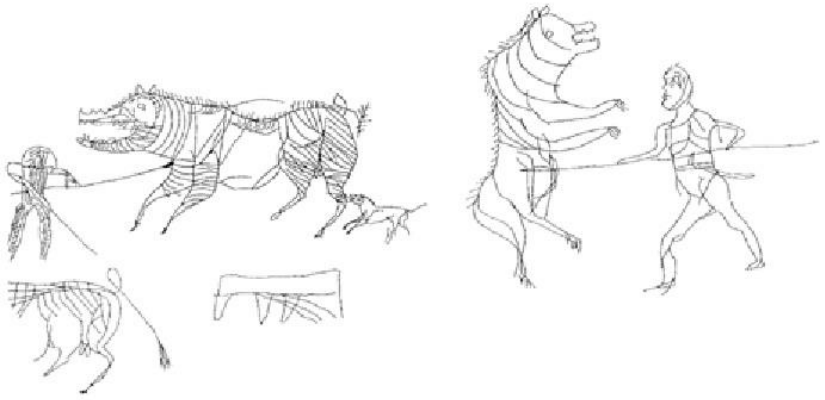
The megalographic frieze of Room 16 dating to around 40-30 BC, was certainly painted while the room was connected to house I.6.2. [673] While it does appear that the house was under restoration in AD 79, the fact that the south wall of the *oecus* was unfinished suggests that the wall was new. In fact, the alphabet in this room (CIL IV 9264) is written in the coarse plaster of the west unfinished wall of the *oecus*, indicating it was written after the houses were separated. I contend, though, that the remaining graffiti were written when the room was connected to house I.6.2 for several reasons.

[671] Probably referring to the sea-god Palemon (Keegan 2011 , 181)
[672] In my sample, two occur in rooms identified as a *triclinium*, 6 in the *oecus*, 2 in the *cubiculum*, 4 in *atria* and 1 in the *fauces/vestibulum*, as well as 2 in the *tablinum* (the room typically identified as an area of business).
[673] (Bragantini 1990, 193)

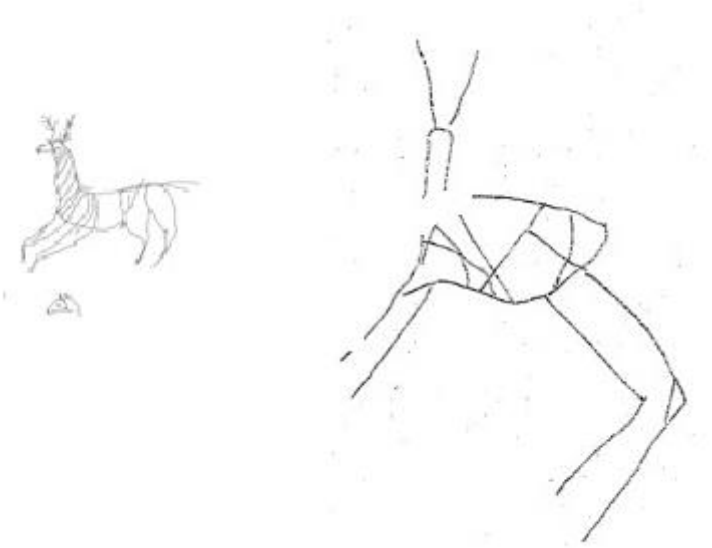
One drawing in this room closely echo the most famous graffiti from the House of the Cryptoporticus nearby. In a large *oecus* were several large drawings depicting a beast hunt that are similar in style to the DiBiasie 20 found in the *oecus* of house I.6.4.[674]

(Illustration 6.10: House I.6.2, from Langner 1114)

[674] See **Figures 317-318**.



(Illustration 6.11: House I.6.2, Langner 1116 from (Langner 2001))



(Illustration 6.12: House I.6.2 (left) from Langner 1114; House I.6.4 (right) DiBiasie 20, line drawing by author)

I am not suggesting that all these graffiti are the product of one person. Even the graffiti from house I.6.2 alone may be of different hands. However, the similarities may suggest they were completed when the houses were joined.

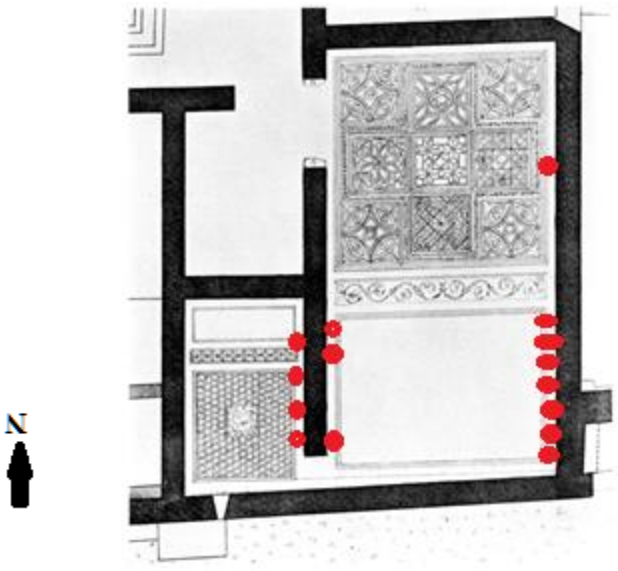
Besides CIL IV 8017, nearly all the other graffiti in this room are in what has been called the anteroom or *antecamera*, the south portion of the room. The brilliant polychrome mosaic of the northern part of the room is separated from the simpler, floral pattern and monochrome "rug" of the southern section. The wall painting also shows a sharp delineation at the same point: the megalographic frieze ends and a simpler second-style orthostate pattern begins.[675] Nearly all the graffiti on both the east and west walls are in this southern section. Only CIL IV 8017 is in the northern section and only it is at couch level. The southern wall bore no graffiti either but it had been recently built in 79 and its preparation layers were unfinished. Likewise, there are no graffiti found on the northern wall, although much of the wall plaster is extant.

Furthermore, the height of CIL IV 8017 (the only graffito *not* found in the *antecamera*) from the ground may indicate the context in which it was written. That it is only 93 cm from the floor, while the others in this room average 150 cm, suggests that it may have been scrawled by someone seated on a couch. Benefiel attributed graffiti of around this same height (80-93 cm) at the House of the Four Styles to reclining diners.[676]

The placement of the graffiti suggests that guests, inhabitants, or visitors congregated in the southern anteroom. Evidently, in the northern section, *triclinium*

[675] (Ling 1991, 49)
[676] (Benefiel 2011, 28)

couches or other furnishings hampered access to the walls. The fact that these graffiti are all situated at the southern edge of this space further supports my hypothesis that they were written when this house communicated with I.6.2. With unhindered access from the garden loggia at this time, guests, visitors, and inhabitants could casually scrawl graffiti here, as they stood, but they had less access to the northern half of the room. But when the houses were separated, the addition of the southern wall sequestering the room from the garden disrupted this behavior.



(Illustration 6.13: Rooms 16 and 19, from Spinazzola 1953, figure 108; red dots represent graffiti; added by the author)

Furthermore, when the two houses communicated, it is likely that the room ceased to function as a *triclinium* or the design of the room had to be completely reversed, obliterating the careful symmetry between the couches and the mosaic/parietal design. Again, if this design was reversed or the furniture was removed it would be possible for writing to occur in the northern section, and yet only one graffito was found in that area.

This further supports the conclusion that the graffiti were written when the southern section of the room functioned as an anteroom.

Another possible reason for the absence of graffiti in the northern section of the room is a taboo against writing on or damaging the megalographic frieze on the corresponding section of the wall (see also Chapter Four). This likely plays some part in the absence of graffiti here; however, there is ample border space in the area between the frieze and the dado. Many of the other graffiti in the anteroom occur in this border painting. Thus, the absence of graffiti in the northern section must still be explained.

Now I turn to the content of the graffiti to further explore the function of Room 16. One name appears in several graffiti in the room including CIL IV 8017 (*Venustus S [ ] Fu · III [] in [] · Vibrio Lione*), which while incomplete seems to mention Venustus, Vibrius and a lion.[677] Further, Venustus appears in two other graffiti in this same room. In CIL IV 8019 (*III Idus Iulias Tr M CC Venustus*), Venustus' name appears with an inscription describing the sale or distribution of wheat. It is possible that Venustus was a participant in transaction. But, it is hard to imagine what a *bestiarius* would be doing with 200 *modi* of wheat, unless he had won it as a prize, which seems unlikely. Perhaps

[677]Pedro Funari has analyzed this graffito in his article on graphic caricature within the graffiti of Pompeii. (Funari 1993) He notes that the *bestiarius* and the animal are depicted as equals, in equal size. However, more emphasis in the drawing is paid to the clothing and weapons used in the fight. He calculated that 27% of the strokes in the drawing were devoted to the human while 72% were devoted to the fighting equipment. The caricature is thus of a faceless human; the importance is on the fight, not on the gladiator himself. However, Funari errs in that he ignores the graffito above this drawing, which, though partial, at least contains the words Venustus and lione. The gladiator of this graffito is referred to by name, hardly rendering him the faceless figure of Funari's imagination. The rendering of the lion is also crudely done. Perhaps the inattention to details of the human figure is due to the inability of the artist, rather than an ideological reasons or any interpretation of the social standing of the gladiator.

these are two different Venusti. We have already seen another Venustus in house VII.12.35 (CIL IV 2145), a soldier of the first praetorian cohort.[678]

Several graffiti are also located in Room 19, which adjoins Room 16 through a narrow doorway in the western wall. The decoration of the room makes clear this is a *cubiculum*. The mosaic on the floor separates the bed area with its simple black border from the elaborate polychrome design in the main area of the *cubiculum*.[679] However, activities other than sleeping surely occurred in such a space, given its connection to Room 16 and its location originally overlooking the loggia of I.6.2. Furthermore, the room was likely entirely open to the loggia and thus may have served as an open meeting area or alcove.[680] This particular combination of *oecus-cubiculum* is common, especially in the 1st century. The openness of the room to the loggia and its connection with the dining room next door induced Raabe to identify this room as an "alcove" rather than cubiculum.[681] However, the decorative scheme with a distinct bed niche is similar to other *cubicula* in my corpus. Its beautiful bright red wall decoration and polychrome mosaic made it a showpiece for the owner. The graffiti in this room are all located on the eastern wall and consist of male names, commercial graffiti, and a greeting – a mix of types that strongly suggests the *cubiculum* had multiple functions What is clear from both the architecture and the graffiti found within is that the room functioned in diverse ways that may have included sleeping but likely including meeting as well.

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[678] The name Venustus also appears in CIL IV 1082 *Segius · Venustus/ Ofnoedn;* 1366 *Venustus Va;* 2076 *Vales/ Stronnius/ Venustus/ Sestius*; 3107 *bi/ liberius/ Venustus s;* 3959 *Venustos;* 3960 *Venustus*; 4631 *Venustus*

[679] See **Figure 311**

[680] (Raabe 2013, 202)

[681] (Raabe 2013, 176)

In summary, this house contains an unusual distribution of graffiti focused in just two rooms. This distribution and the types of graffiti, including drawings, find closer parallels in those of the House of the Cryptoporticus, to which these rooms were once joined. On a micro-level, the placement of the graffiti within the room center on only one end and indicate that the graffiti were written when the room communicated with the house to its south. The only graffito not conforming to this pattern was written much lower than the others, perhaps at the level of someone reclining on a couch. This exception aside, furniture social mores seems to have discouraged guests and inhabitants from writing in the dining area of the room; instead, they focused their epigraphic attention on the southern anteroom. This analysis of the placement of graffiti within the room was only possible because of their excellent preservation.

6.8 Chapter Conclusion

The houses in this chapter all have an "atypical" distribution: one that does not focus in the *atrium* and peristyle. By looking at these houses together, however, we have seen some patterns emerge. Two houses exemplified the effect of architecture on the use of rooms within the house and their consequent distribution of graffiti. These houses were small and lacked full peristyles or destination rooms around the peristyle. For this reason, activity centered in the *atrium* and the rooms adjoining it, causing graffiti to be present in areas that typically do not contain them (for example, the *ala*). Access analysis determined that the "peristyles" in these houses – actually just walled enclosures – were

"visually controlled" and "inaccessible" and had low pedestrian foot traffic. These characteristics contribute to a general dearth of writing in the peristyle and a corresponding increase in other parts of these houses.

On the other hand, two houses have concentrations in the peristyle without a corresponding correlation in the *atrium*. In this case, the cause of such a distribution can be attributed not to the architecture, but perhaps to the social status of the owners. It is probably not a coincidence that the supposed owners of the two houses belong to a social class whose needs for areas in the house differed, perhaps, from other inhabitants of the city. What is clear is that the inhabitants and guests of these houses tended to congregate in the peristyle rather than the *atrium* and the rooms surrounding it. This may indicate that the owners had less use for the *atrium* and the typical social rituals that took place there.

Other buildings differed almost entirely from the norm in their distribution of graffiti. Two buildings, whose architecture almost immediately distinguishes them from domestic space, had a multitude of graffiti in the *atrium* and *cubicula* surrounding it. Due to this irregular distribution and, in one case, the content of the graffiti, I identified these buildings as inns. The graffiti in building VII.12.35 were a mix of types and contained a variety of people (fans, actors, travelers, soldiers), indicating it was a place where diverse groups of people congregated. In this case, the analysis of the content of the graffiti corroborated the hypothesis that this building was a *hospitium.* The graffiti of building VII.11.11, while unusual in their location were not remarkable in their content. In fact, those in the *cubicula* had more in common with domestic *cubicula* than those of

VII.12.35. The difference in these two buildings, despite their evident common function, shows the need to analyze both content and context of graffiti.

Finally, the graffiti in one house (I.6.4) differed completely from the others in the corpus. Their distribution in only two rooms and, on a micro-level, in only one section, confirms independent evidence that the room was used as a dining room and that the graffiti were written when the room opened onto the garden loggia of House I.6.2. This analysis was only possible because of the excellent preservation of the graffiti in this house. Graffiti have not previously been used to understand changes in a room's use over time or to differentiate function in this way. All of the houses in this chapter provide examples in the ways graffiti aid in enhancing our understanding of the use of the space. Concentration of graffiti in certain areas provides evidence for the effect of architecture and social behavior on the use of space.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The preceding chapters have all analyzed graffiti assemblages from 12 buildings in Pompeii using different methodologies. In Chapters Two and Three, I examined the graffiti using purely archaeological methods of space syntax, visual graph analysis, and agent analysis to determine what properties best characterize locations where graffiti writing occurred. In Chapter Four, I examined the graffiti as artifacts themselves, paying particular attention to the context (i.e. the wall) where the graffiti were found. I looked at how conditions such as lighting, writing style, wall plaster color, and wall plaster reflectivity may have affected visibility as discussed in the first two chapters. In the final two chapters, I looked more closely at the content of the graffiti to discover how the graffiti interacted with each other and with the spaces in which they were written. In this way, my dissertation has started broadly by examining where the graffiti were located within a house, narrowed to the location of the graffiti on a particular wall, and then narrowed further to examine the content of each individual graffito.

One of the most important conclusions from this work is the observation that multi-faceted analysis such as this is imperative when studying these unique artifacts, which lie at the intersection between text and artifact. As the previous chapters make obvious, results of the archaeological and philological inquiry often corroborated each other, especially with regards to the visibility of the graffiti. At other times, as in the case of House V.2.4, using both methodologies was useful if the information was inconsistent. I do not suggest that subsequent scholars always use access analysis or close reading of

the content in studies of graffiti. However, keeping in mind the archaeological context while studying the content of the graffiti, I hope to have shown, is imperative.

Another overall conclusion from this study is the importance of large corpora of graffiti in understanding larger trends within the material. Previously, graffiti have most often been studied by type or as a corpus within a single house or villa. My study was unique in that I examined graffiti assemblages from several buildings together. This enabled me to postulate some general trends of graffiti writing in Pompeii in general. Further, in many cases what is true for one house was not true for the others. By examining many buildings together, I was able to understand the typical and the anomalous. From this analysis, I created a "typical" distribution of graffiti, which enabled me to understand general patterns within my sample as well as identify outliers.

My overall conclusions from this study break down into two categories of results: graffiti and space and graffiti as evidence. I will treat each of these bodies of conclusions separately.

Graffiti and Space

Ancient graffiti often confound modern audiences (and even scholars) because they are located in areas where they "should not" be, including homes, tombs, and public buildings. This dissertation set out to discover where exactly graffiti were found in the buildings in my study as well as to suggest reasons why the graffiti were written in these areas. What made these specific areas, which are so discomforting to the modern audience, so attractive for graffiti writing?

First, I focused on identifying where the graffiti of my corpus were written. I discovered that the two most common locations for graffiti were the *atrium* and the peristyle, followed closely by the *cubiculum*. However, the amount of graffiti in the *cubiculum* was skewed by two inns in my corpus, which are more likely to have graffiti in these spaces. In general, graffiti did not occur in areas typically identified as "servile" like the kitchen.

The most common types of graffiti were male names and greetings. This reflects the use of the wall plaster as a message board and as a place to imprint one's presence on the physical fabric of the city. The third most common type of graffito was poetry, which is perhaps unexpected in this genre of writing. A "typical" distribution is one that centers in the *atrium* and the peristyle. The *atrium* typically contains numerals, names, and greetings while the peristyle also frequently has drawings and poetry.

These types did not occur in equal distribution, either. Specific houses have a conglomeration of particular graffiti types and in specific rooms. The effect is one of both clustering and imitation. As Benefiel has suggested, graffiti writing in one area can inspire clustering of other graffiti messages.[682] Further, it appears that graffiti writing of a specific type (especially drawings) could inspire imitation of that form throughout the same house.

To further understand characteristics of the places where graffiti were written, I turned to access analysis, a term for a set of theories that analyze the configuration of space. I hoped that by using archaeological methods such as these, I would be able to

[682] (Benefiel 2010a, 2011)

analyze the space without the bias of ancient nomenclature and understand how the type and configuration of space influenced graffiti writing. My results confirmed that ancient graffiti writing appears in areas of frequent use, called domains within access analysis. They indicate that ancient graffiti writing, unlike its modern counterpart, is written in areas of surveillance. The Pompeians who wrote these messages wrote them in areas where they would be seen doing so. This is important, as I will discuss further, because it helps us to understand the particular messages Pompeians chose to write. These conclusions were corroborated with visibility graph analysis, which showed that graffiti tend to be written in areas of high visibility -- i.e. those areas that will be seen from many other places within the system. The emphasis on visibility and surveillance also was further substantiated with the results of agent analysis, which showed that graffiti are more likely to be written in areas of high pedestrian traffic. These results indicate that graffiti in my corpus tend to be written in the most trafficked, visible, and accessible locations in the Pompeian house: in essence, the public areas.

These conclusions may seem alien to one who has not studied ancient graffiti; they defy the unwritten rules governing much modern graffiti. On the other hand, they may seem obvious to those who have worked with this material before. This study has quantified the casual observations of these aspects of ancient graffiti writing in Pompeii. Furthermore, by quantifying and standardizing these observations, I have been able to easily compare buildings with each other. Given the heterogeneity of the buildings in Pompeii and in my corpus, such comparisons have been difficult to achieve in the past.

By comparing buildings to each other, I was able to identify anomalies that did not fit the typical pattern of graffiti. One such anomaly was the presence of multiple graffiti in small rooms where they are not easily accessed, trafficked, or visible (these rooms are often termed *cubicula*). Further investigation revealed these buildings were actually inns. This identification would explain the conglomeration of graffiti in these areas because at inns, among the most "public" areas of the building would be the small sleeping quarters used by guests.

A second anomaly was the correlation between the size of the peristyle and presence of walking areas and the number of graffiti. Those buildings that had large peristyles with walking areas, especially if they also contained "destination rooms" to walk to, tended to have a greater number of graffiti. Buildings without peristyles or with small or incomplete ones, tended to have reduced numbers. Therefore, while in general, graffiti are often located in this "public," visible area, the concentrations could change if accessibility and pedestrian traffic were reduced. The visibility of a particular area is only as important as the potential for guests and inhabitants visiting it. Without proper walking areas and places to walk to, a peristyle would simply not have the same traffic, and subsequently graffiti writing, as other areas.

One unique feature of my archaeological analysis of these spaces was the use of differentiated analysis through open and closed doors. I adapted access analysis to take into account spatial conditions (such as doorways), a marked departure from previous scholarship. By adding doorways, I modeled different spatial conditions (closed and open doorways) that may have been in place throughout the day. Of course, barriers like

curtains and doorkeepers leave nothing in the material record by which to understand their effect. Without concrete evidence or knowledge of exactly which doorways would have been open at a particular time, it is impossible to perfectly model movement within the Roman house. However, a differentiated model at least allows us to understand what impact doors may have had on movement patterns and visibility of graffiti within domestic space. In fact, I found that if I "closed" the known doors of the house, visibility and pedestrian traffic to the areas of graffiti writing were greatly reduced. It is clear that spatial conditions such as open and closed doorways would have had a noticeable effect on whether one could reach, much less read, a graffito.

Beyond understanding the features of a physical space that made that space appealing for graffiti writing, I was also interested in exploring the physical space itself and how the graffiti interacted with the spaces in which they were written. Such an exploration is quite difficult since so few graffiti survive and even those that do are often located on highly reconstructed walls.

This study showed that conditions such as the wall plaster color and wall plaster reflectivity had a marked effect on the visibility and legibility of a particular graffito. Some wall plaster, when scratched, produced a color in the preparation layers that made the graffiti easier to read. Highly reflective plaster, which would have been more typical when the wall plaster was better preserved, also greatly enhanced legibility.

Likewise, lighting conditions throughout the day likely had a noticeable effect on which graffiti would be visible at certain times. At night, very few graffiti would be visible unless oil lamps were placed nearby. I suggested that the availability of light

might in some part account for the location of certain graffiti on the south sides of rooms within House I.6.4. Furthermore, the availability of sunlight and, to a lesser extent, moonlight may account for the large quantity of graffiti found on peristyle columns.

The size of the graffiti in my sample is, in general, large enough to be legible but not so large as to detract from the overall view of the wall painting. One would not have to know with certainty where a graffito was in order to read it, but one would not be drawn to it when viewing the overall wall, either. None of the graffiti were located on top of detailed wall paintings; instead, they were mostly on single-colored orthostates or border areas. The very few graffiti on figural wall paintings were written in blank areas of these artworks. These messages, in fact, copy painted epigrams on nearby paintings. It is clear that the purpose of the messages is not to "deface" the expensive and beautiful wall art purchased by the owner. This analysis, then, has clarified some of the features typical of locations where graffiti were found. It is clear that graffiti writers were interested in making their messages visible and readable by others. This influences how we understand the content and the overall purpose of this genre.

Graffiti as Evidence

Beyond an understanding of graffiti themselves, this dissertation also seeks to use graffiti as evidence to understand the spaces in which they were written. Unlike many perishable artifacts that have long disintegrated, graffiti are tangible clues of human presence in an area. Furthermore, the content of the graffiti themselves sometimes gives insights into the use of the space in which they are located.

The content of the graffiti in these various rooms indicates a multifunctional use of space often not discussed in scholarship on the Roman house. Often scholars tend to develop a linear relationship between room type and room use (the *tablinum* was for business, the *cubiculum* was for sleeping, etc.). This dissertation has shown, however, that many of these spaces have graffiti writing indicating a plethora of different activities. *Cubicula*, for example, often contained numerals and commercial graffiti, indicating they could be places of business. These results show the multipurpose nature of Roman rooms and the need to add nuance to our understanding of Roman room types.

Further, graffiti writing itself was utilitarian and could be used to keep track of the spaces in which it appeared. In one specific house (V.1.18), it seems that graffiti writing on the wall was used to mark redecoration work done in the rooms. The artisans or builders perhaps wrote the dates and names of those that completed the work and the date of completion.

These results showed, in addition, that it is essential to study the placement of the graffiti within a room in order to understand the space. House V.2.4, for example, had multiple greetings in the peristyle, but closer examination revealed that greetings for different groups of people were reserved for different areas. This may indicate that groups of people were expected to visit different parts of the same room. In a similar way, graffiti are very rarely found in the *alae*. In both examples where they were found, they were only located on one side of the room. This may suggest that the other side of the room was inaccessible due to furniture. Graffiti on one side of the *atrium* indicates the walking path and congregation area of users traveling to the peristyle. Studying the

placement of graffiti within a room also revealed that graffiti sometimes cluster around notable items of interest like, for example, the obsidian mirror in House I.9.5. These objects were points of congregation and inspired a clustering of messages.

One of the most important conclusions from this dissertation is the creation of a "typical" model of graffiti distribution and from that model the ability to identify outliers. I have found that often graffiti in these atypical locations tend to be atypical in some other way as well – for example, in their size or content. This may indicate that there was a known pattern of acceptable and typical graffiti writing. Perhaps the authors writing "atypical" graffiti did not belong to the same group writing those in "typical" areas.

Furthermore, the model of graffiti distribution has allowed me to explore reasons for these outliers. One house in particular, I.6.4, had a very irregular distribution of graffiti concentrated in only two rooms. After closer examination, I suggested, based on the location of the graffiti in the room as well as the content, that they were written in an early phase when the room was joined to the house behind it. Furthermore, the distribution and content of graffiti in two buildings, VII.11.11 and VII.12.35, were very unlike all other distributions as they centered in the *cubicula*. The content of the graffiti in one of the buildings (VII.12.35) was also very atypical in its inclusion of travelers, soldiers, and actors. Based on the content and distribution, I suggested that these buildings were actually inns, a hypothesis that has been proposed by other scholars based on archaeological evidence as well. This indicates that graffiti, especially in the absence of perishable archaeological evidence, can be used to indicate the function of particular spaces within buildings (in the case of the *oecus* of House I.6.4) as well as the buildings

themselves (in the case of these two inns). In essence, I have shown that rather than just studying graffiti to understand the genre itself, we should be using graffiti as an important piece of evidence to understand the buildings in which they were written.

Figures

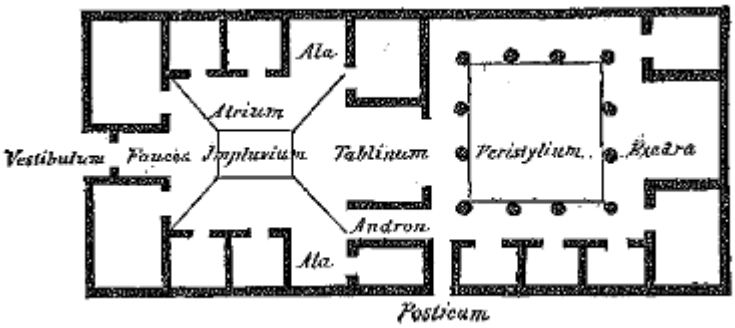


Figure 1: Mau House plan (Mau 1904, 247)

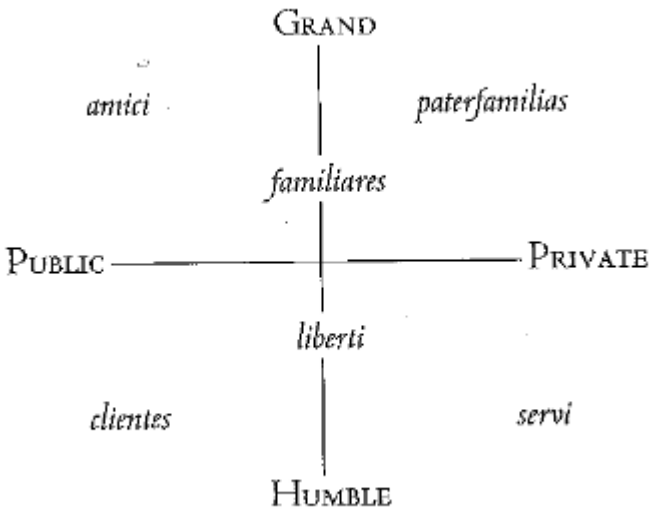
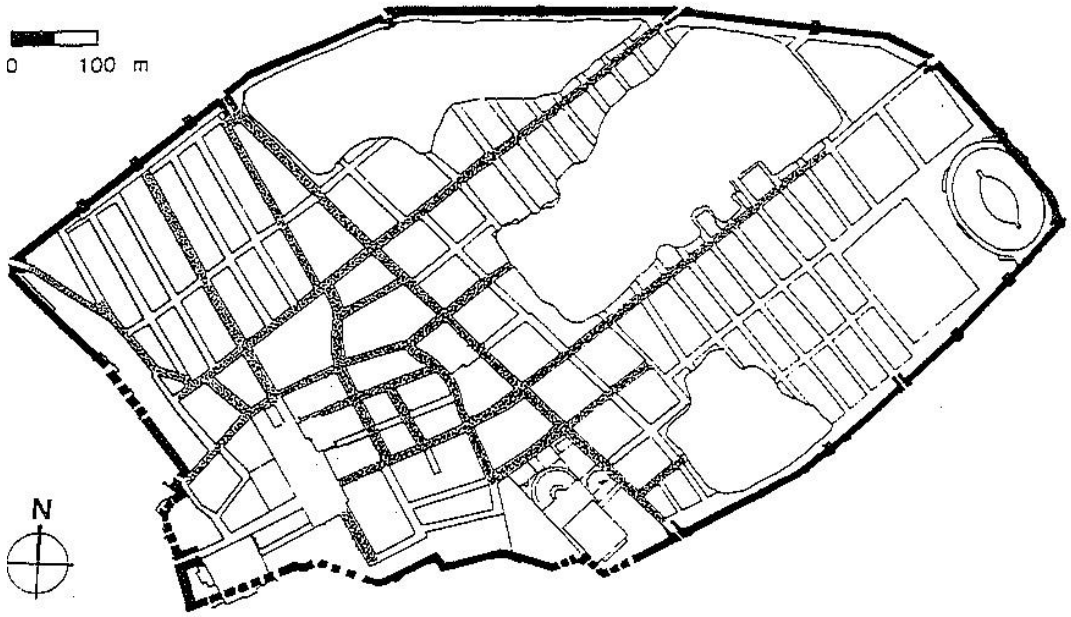
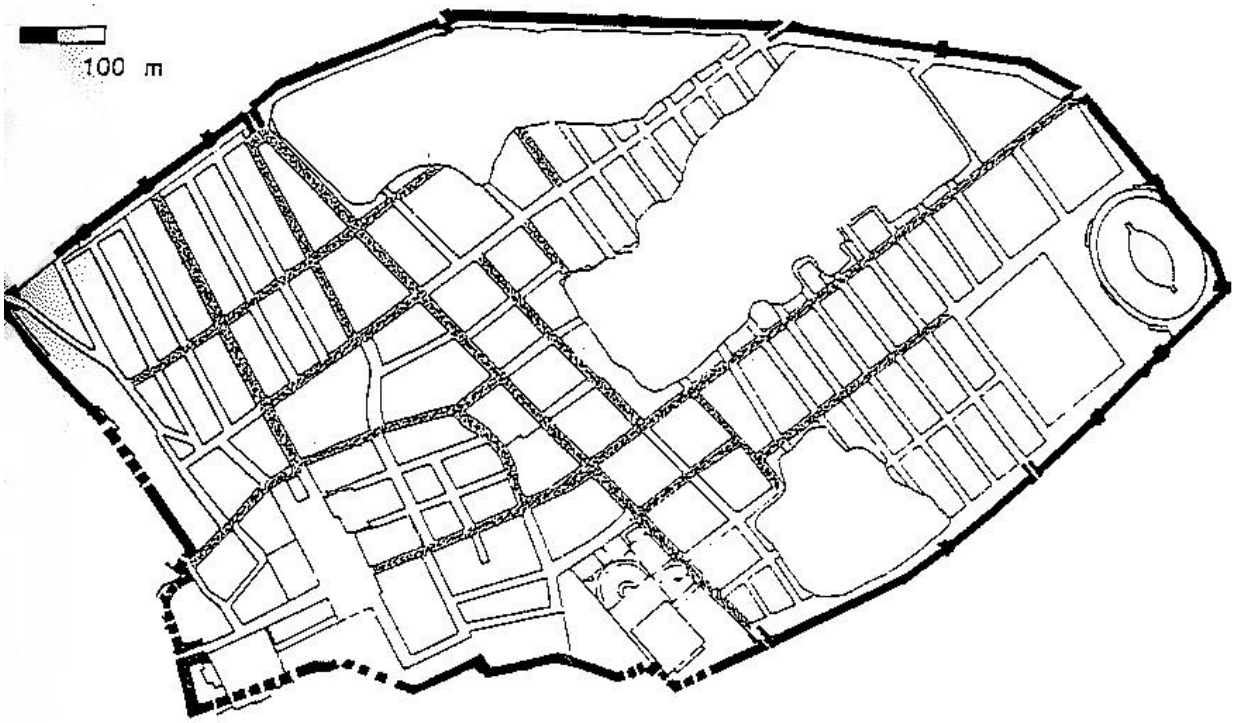


Figure 2: Axis Grid (Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 38)



Map 6.1 Occurrence of doorways 1

Figure 3: Doorway Occurance Map ((Laurence 2007, 105)



Map 6.5 Occurrence of messages 1

Figure 4: Programmata Occurance Map (Laurence 2007, 111)

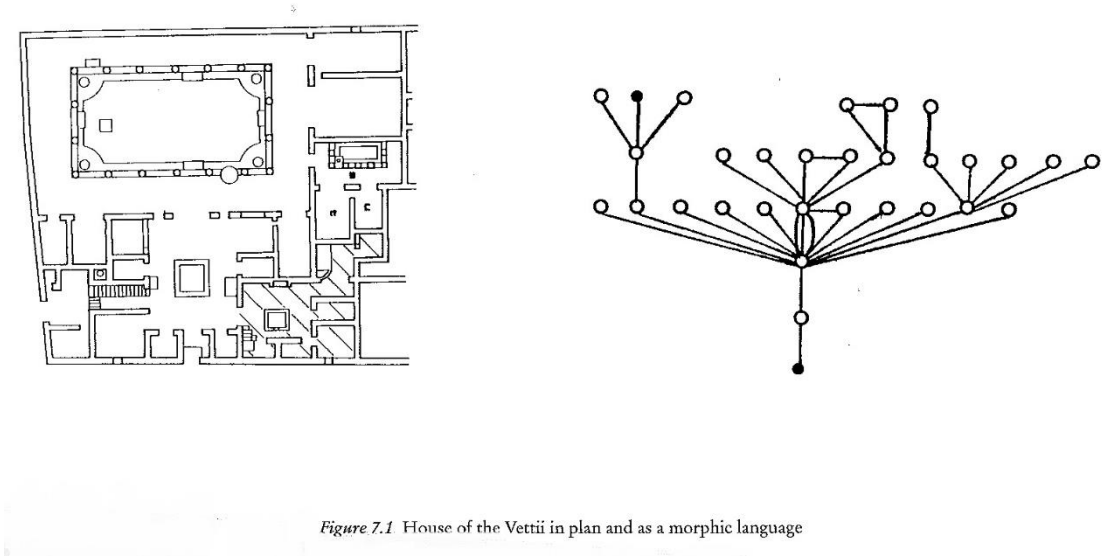


Figure 7.1 House of the Vettii in plan and as a morphic language

Figure 5: House of the Vettii Plan and J-Graph (Laurence 2007, 128)

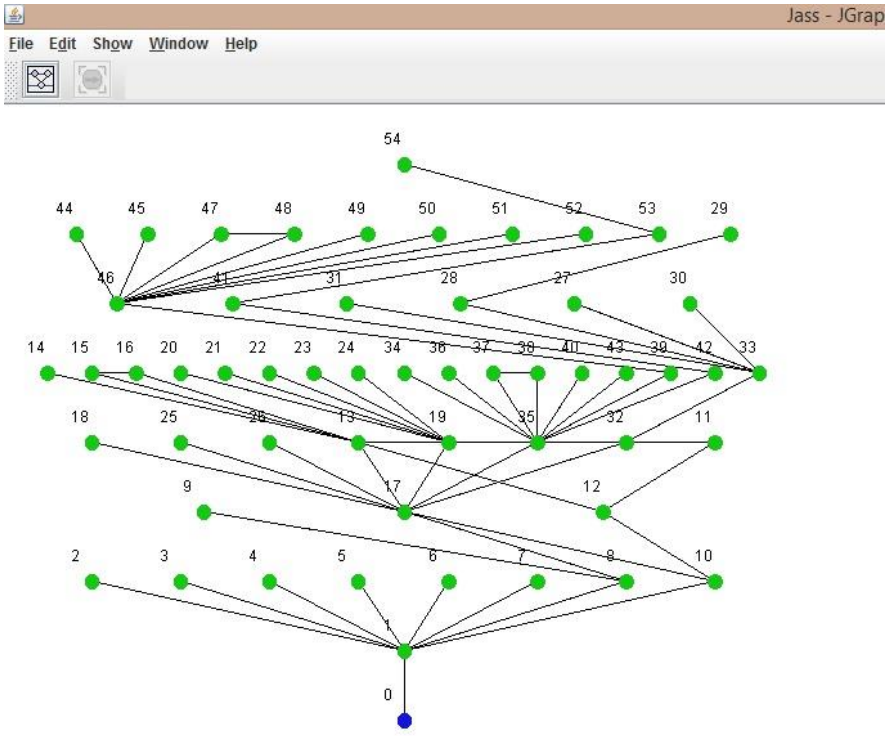


Figure 6: J-Graph Example in JASS Software

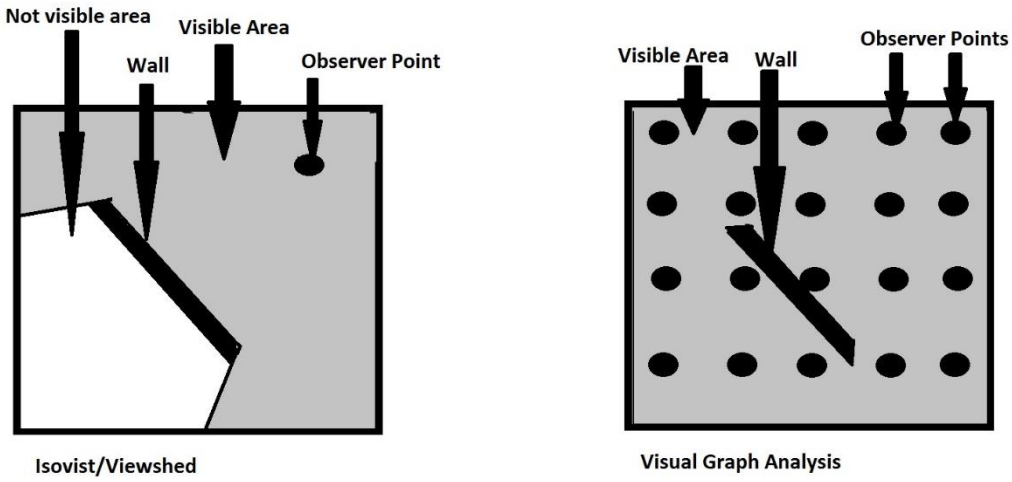


Figure 7: Schematic drawing illustrating the difference between an Isovist and Visual Graph Analysis, drawing by the author

GRAFFITI BY #1 CATEGORY																				
type of gr	alphabet	brothel	cities, tow	commerce	date	imperial	entertain	epigram	greek	greek nan	imperial	mythologi	name fem	name mal	poetry	unidentifi	sum			
aditus													1	2			3			
ala			1										1	2		2	6			
ambulacrum														2			2			
atrium	1				2				4	1			1	14	3	3	29			
cella													1				1			
conclavis					1									3			4			
cubiculum		1	2		2			1	1				1	23	1	4	36			
cucina														1			1			
cupboard																	0			
fauces	1		3											3		1	8			
latrina																	0			
membrum		1	1		1									10	1	1	15			
oecus	1			1	5		1				1		1	1			11			
ostium													2	1	3		6			
peristyle	1	1	7						3		2	3	2	25	7	6	57			
porticus	1	3												5			9			
pseudoperistyle														1			1			
tablinum		2				1						1		4		1	9			
tetrastylum														3	1		4			
tridinium					2				2	1		1	1	1	3		11			
vestibulum																3	3			
virdarium														2		2	4			
	5	8	14	1	13	1	1	3	9	1	4	4	11	103	19	23	220			
	2.27%	3.64%	6.36%	5.91%	5.91%	0.45%	0.45%	1.36%	4.09%	0.45%	1.82%	1.82%	5.00%	46.82%	8.64%	10.45%				

Figure 8: Total number of graffiti by type 1

room name	sum	percent of total
Aditus	3	1.01%
Ala	7	2.36%
ambulacrum	2	0.68%
atrium	77	26.01%
Cella	1	0.34%
conclavis	4	1.35%
cubiculum	34	11.49%
cucina	1	0.34%
cupboard	1	0.34%
fauces	9	3.04%
latrina	2	0.68%
membrum	19	6.42%
Oecus	12	4.05%
Ostium	6	2.03%
peristyle	72	24.32%
porticus	10	3.38%
pseudoperistyle	1	0.34%
tablinum	10	3.38%
tetrastylum	4	1.35%
triclinium	13	4.39%
vestibulum	4	1.35%
virdarium	4	1.35%

Figure 9: Graffiti by Room Type and percentage total

Figure 10: Map of Male Names (highlighted in yellow)

Figure 11: Map of Female Names (highlighted in yellow)

Figure 12: Map of Drawings (highlighted in black)

Figure 13: Map of Poetry Graffiti (highlighted in black)

Figure 14: Map of Unidentifiable Graffiti (highlighted in black)

Figure 15: Map of Graffiti located on site by the author (highlighted in black)

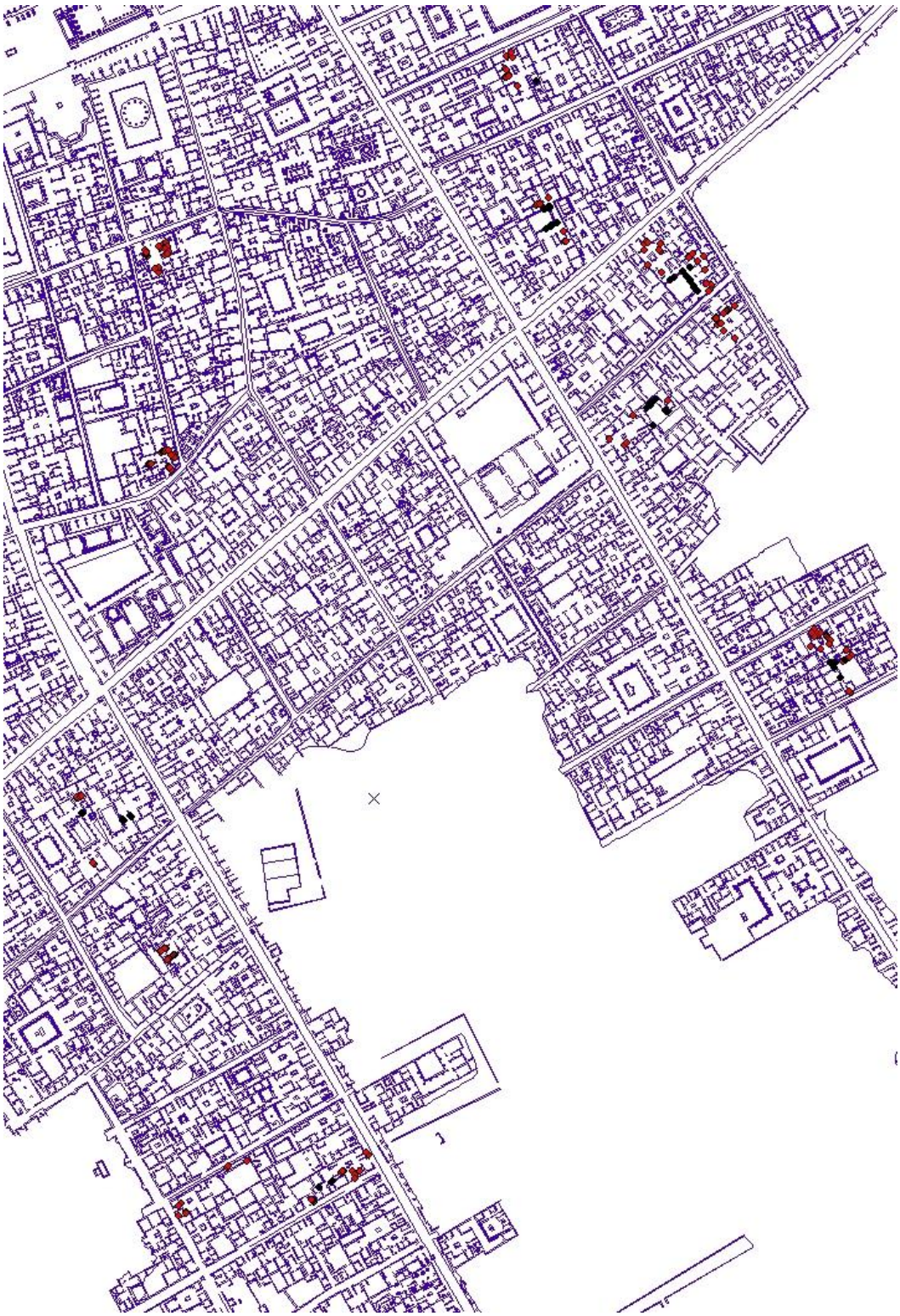


Figure 16: Map of graffiti located in the peristyle (highlighted in black)

Figure 17: Map of graffiti located in *atrium* (highlighted in black)

Figure 18: Map of graffiti located in the *cubiculum* (highlighted in black)

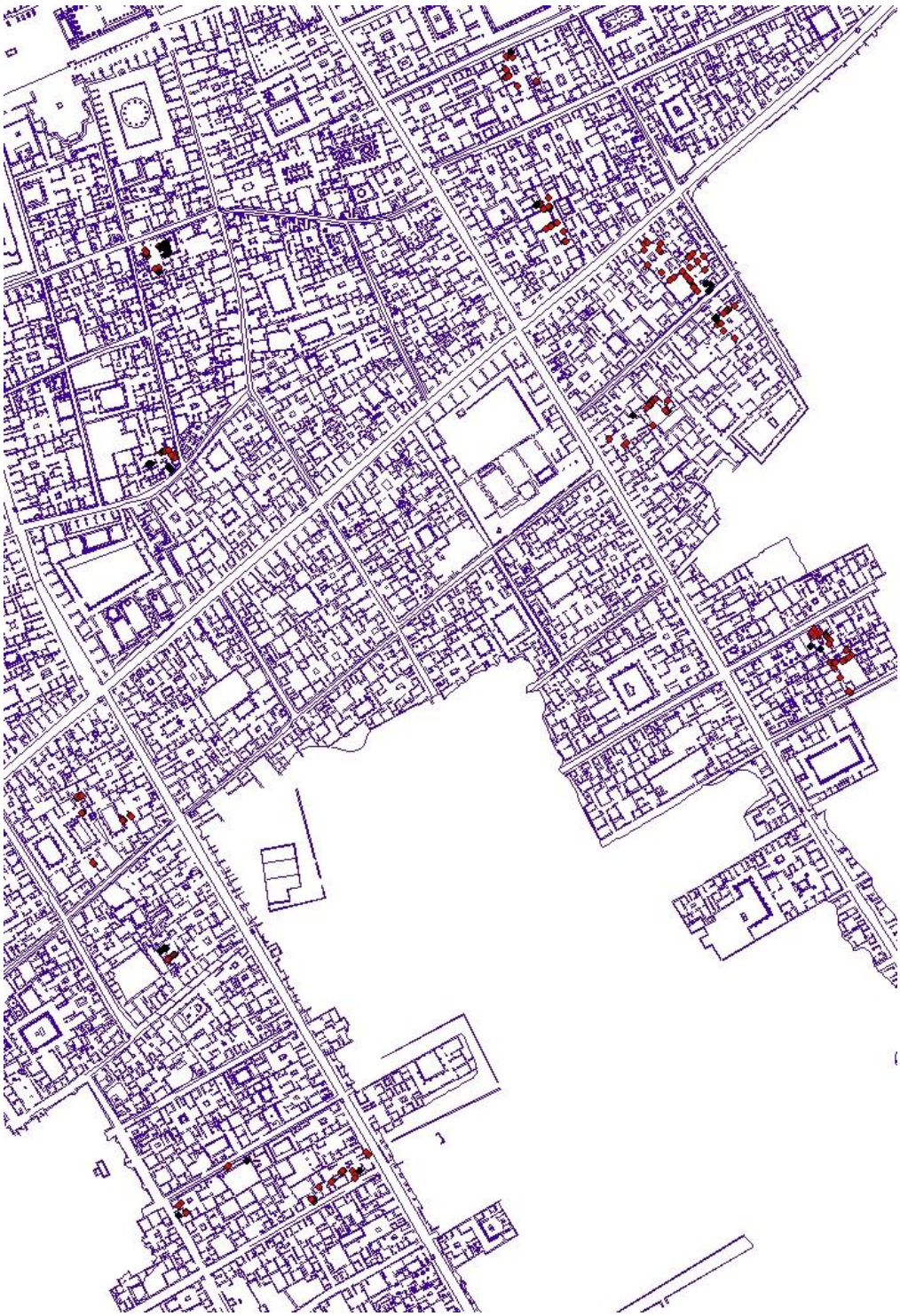


Figure 19: Map of graffiti located in the *cubiculum, cella, or conclavis* (highlighted in black)

Figure 20: Map of graffiti located in entry spaces (highlighted in black)

Figure 21: Map of graffiti located in reception spaces (highlighted in black)

Figure 22: Map of graffiti located in large gathering spaces (highlighted in black)

Figure 23: Map of graffiti in private reception spaces (highlighted in black)

Figure 24: Map of graffiti in small areas

Figure 25: Map of graffiti in service areas (highlighted in black)

House Number	TotalRRA	MeanRRA	Integration ranking (inversed MRRA ranking)	Number of Graffiti	Log number of grafffiti
5.2.g	12.51925	0.782453	1	16	1.20412
6.13.19	14.25677	0.792043	2	13	1.113943
7.12.35	10.55811	0.812163	3	23	1.361728
5.1.18	21.9736	0.878944	4	31	1.491362
6.14.20	18.16652	0.956132	5	25	1.39794
1.6.4	18.3363	0.965068	6	15	1.176091
5.2.4	22.46762	0.98591	11	37	1.568202
1.4.5	54.28756	0.987046	7	16	1.20412
1.9.13	15.93359	0.99585	8	9	0.954243
1.9.5	20.42122	1.021061	9	25	1.39794
5.4.a	21.52931	1.26464	10	31	1.491362
7.11.11	24.99391	1.210153	12	23	1.361728

Figure 26: RRA, Mean RRA (MRRA), Integration Ranking, Number of graffiti, Log number of graffiti

Figure 27: Map of I.4.5

Figure 28: GIS Map of I.4.5; graffiti indicated by red dots

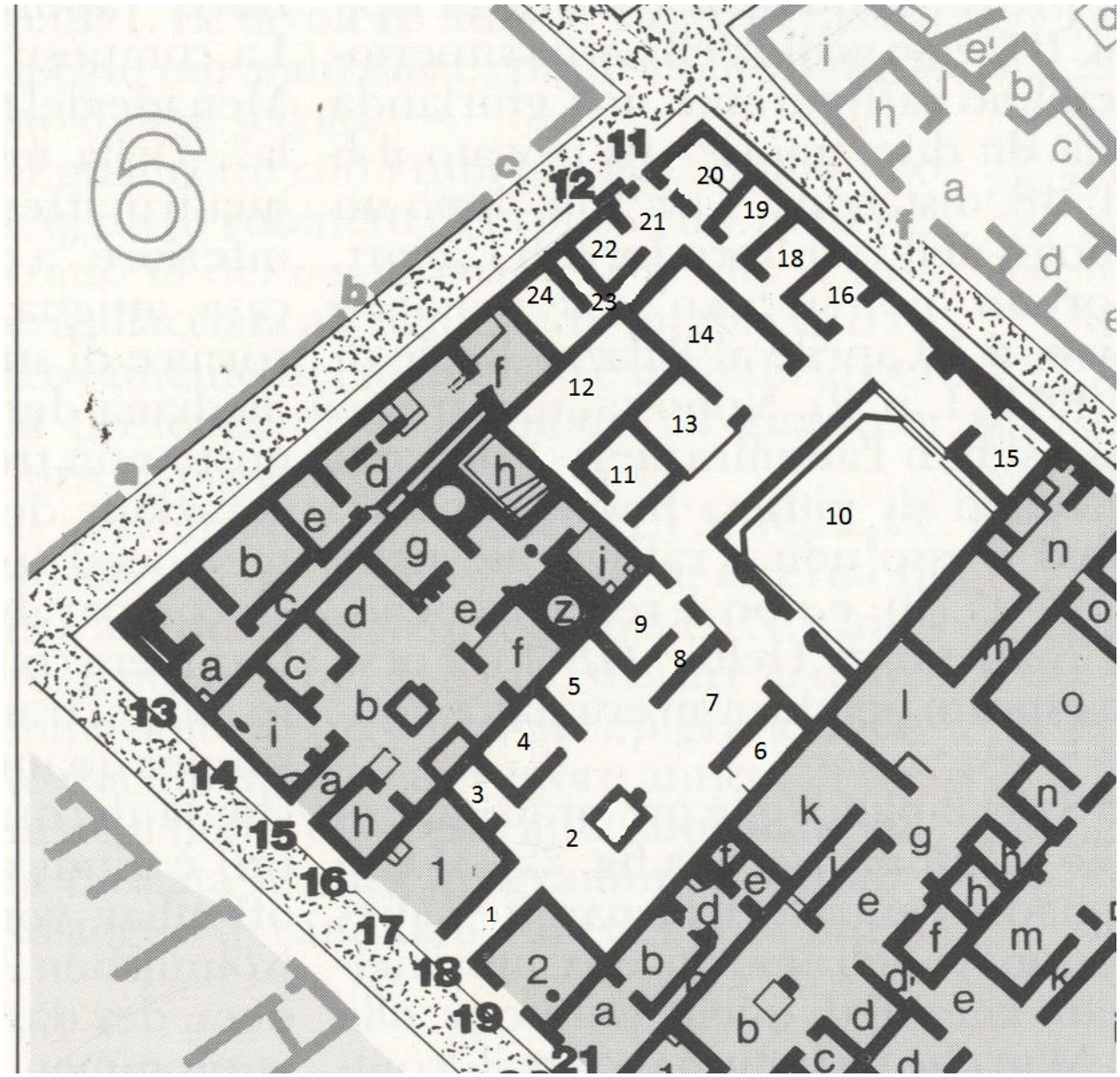


Figure 29: Plan of V.1.18 from (de Vos 1991a, 539), numbers added by author

Figure 30: GIS Map of V.1.18; graffiti indicated by red dots

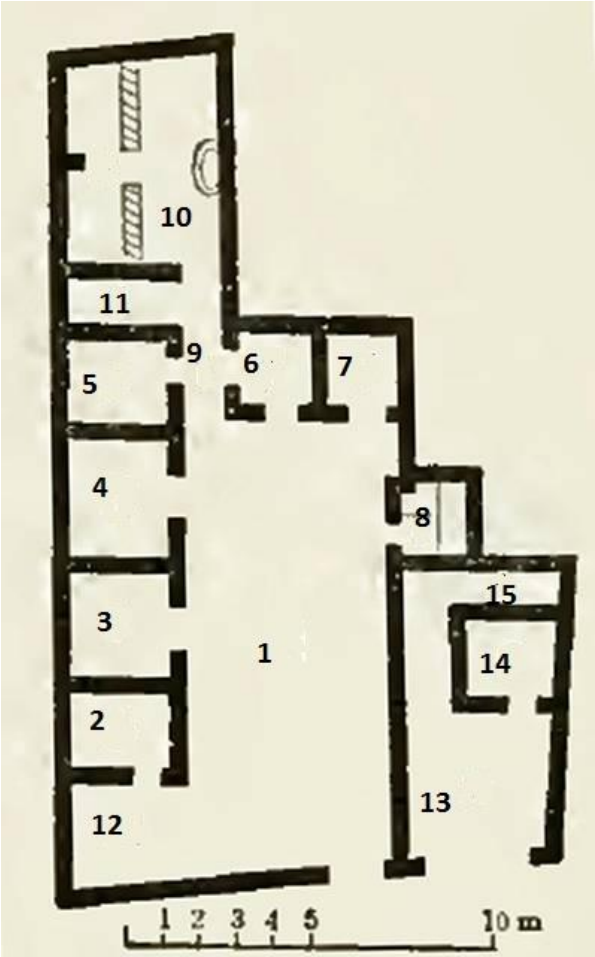


Figure 31: Plan of VII.12.35 from (Mau 1904, 200), numbers added by author

Figure 32: GIS Map of VII.12.35; graffiti indicated by red dots

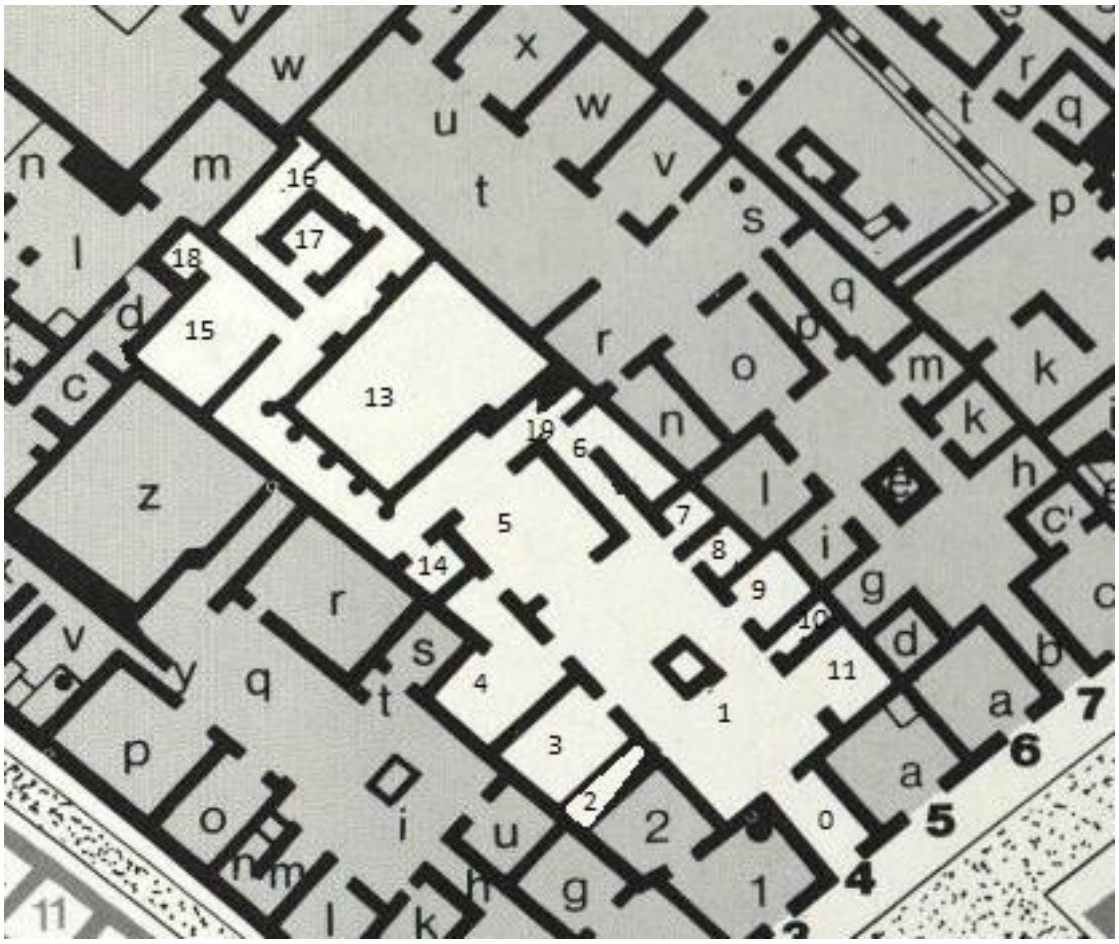


Figure 33: Plan of V.2.4 from (Sampaolo 1991, 797), numbers added by author

Figure 34: GIS Map of V.2.4; graffiti indicated by red dots

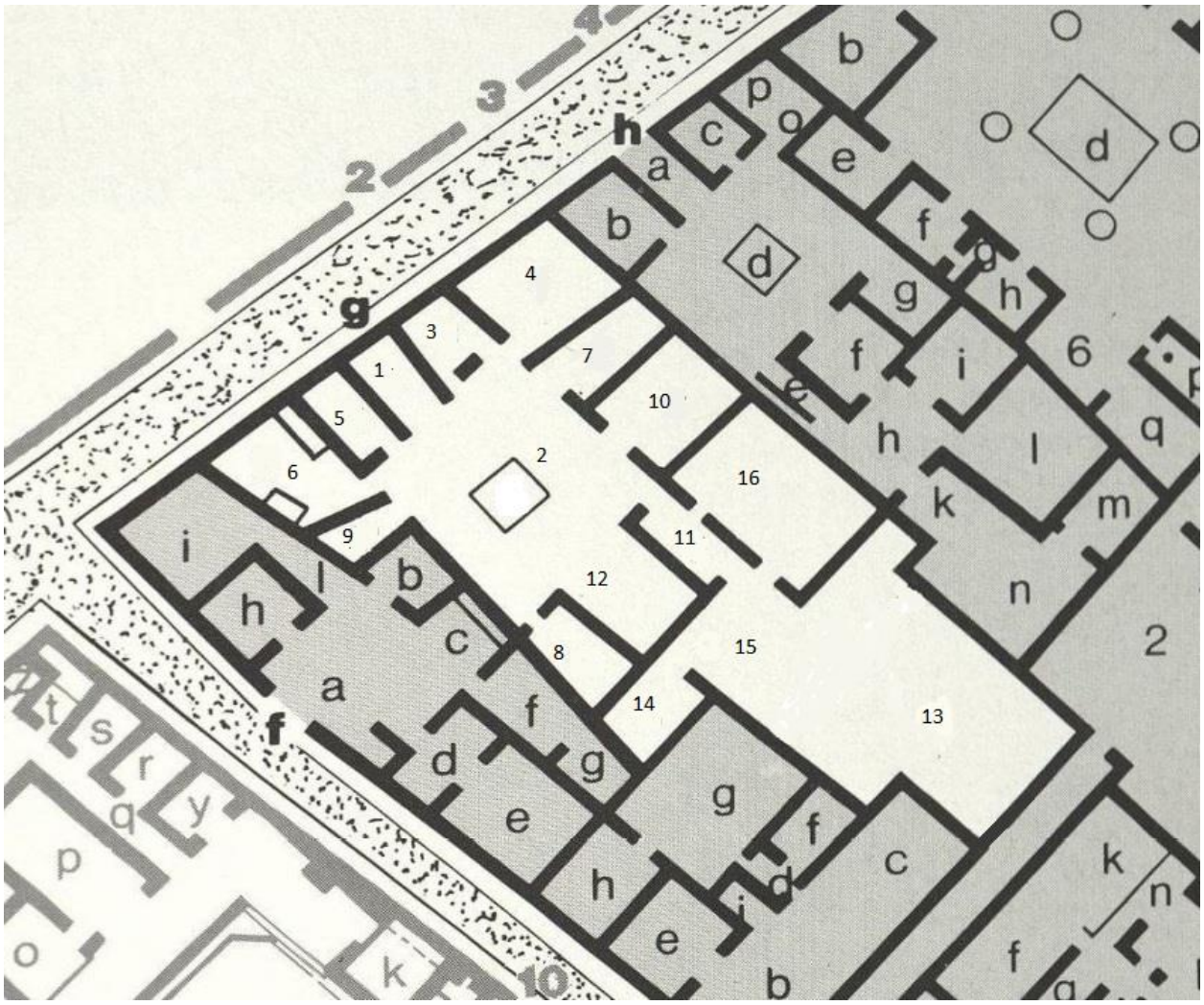


Figure 35: Plan of V.2.g from (Badoni 1991, 641), numbers added by the author

Figure 36: GIS Map of V.2.g; graffiti indicated by red dots

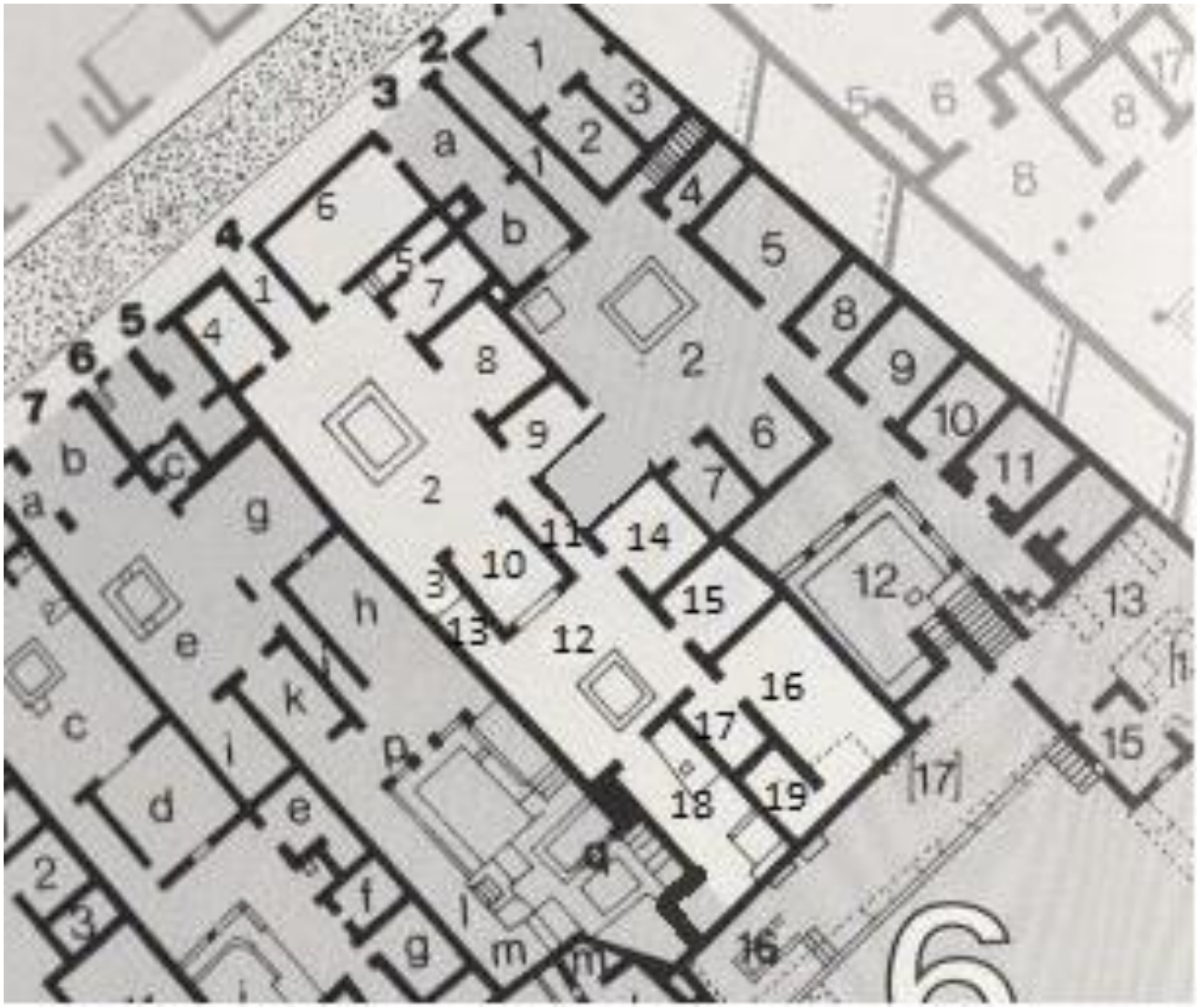


Figure 37: Plan of I.6.4 from (Bragantini 1990, 280), numbers added by author

Figure 38: GIS Map of I.6.4; graffiti indicated by red dots

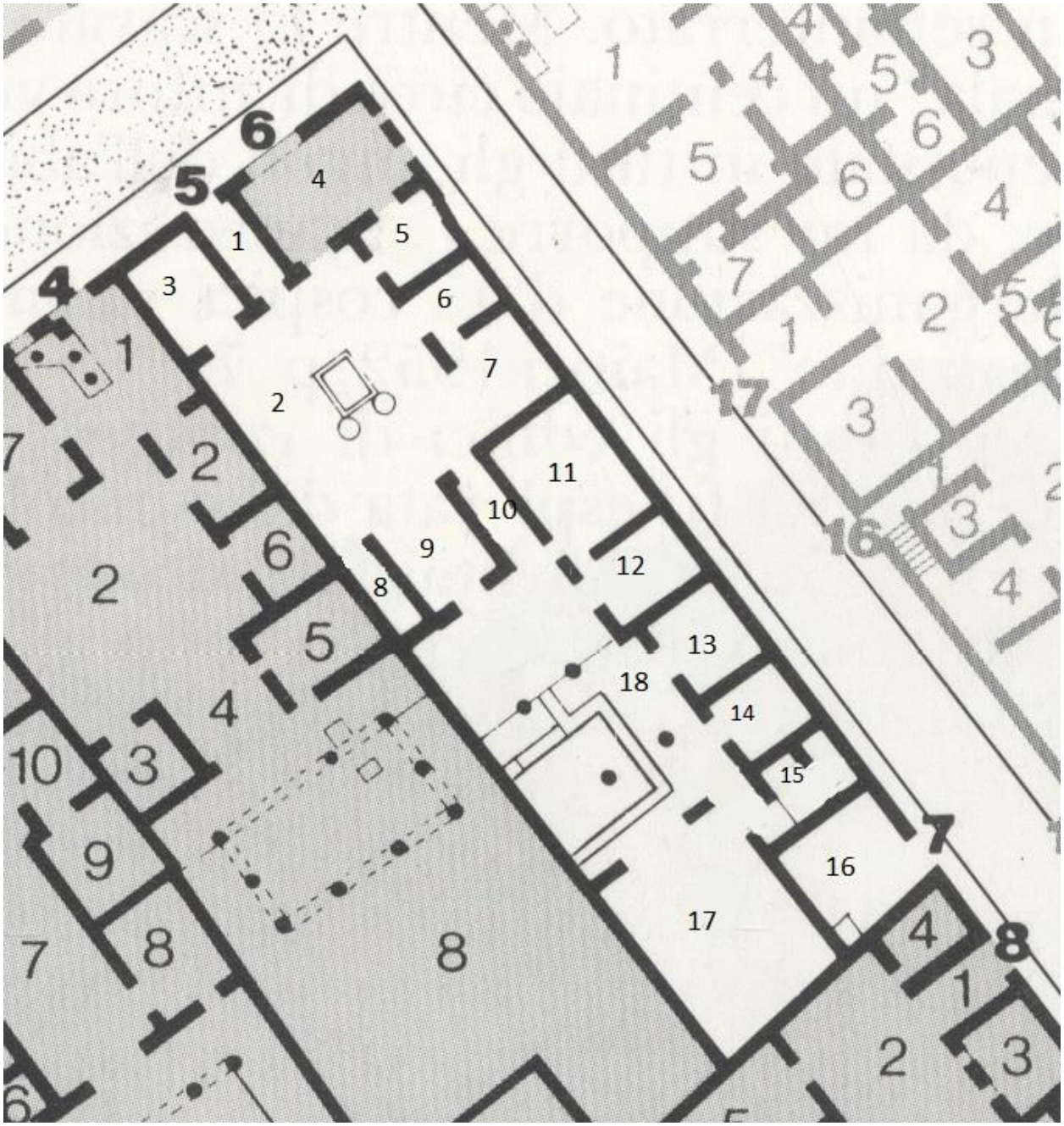


Figure 39: Plan of I.9.5 from (de Vos 1990b, 1), numbers added by author

Figure 40: GIS Map of I.9.5; graffiti indicated by red dots

Figure 41: House 1.9.5 mirror from (de Vos 1990b, 44)

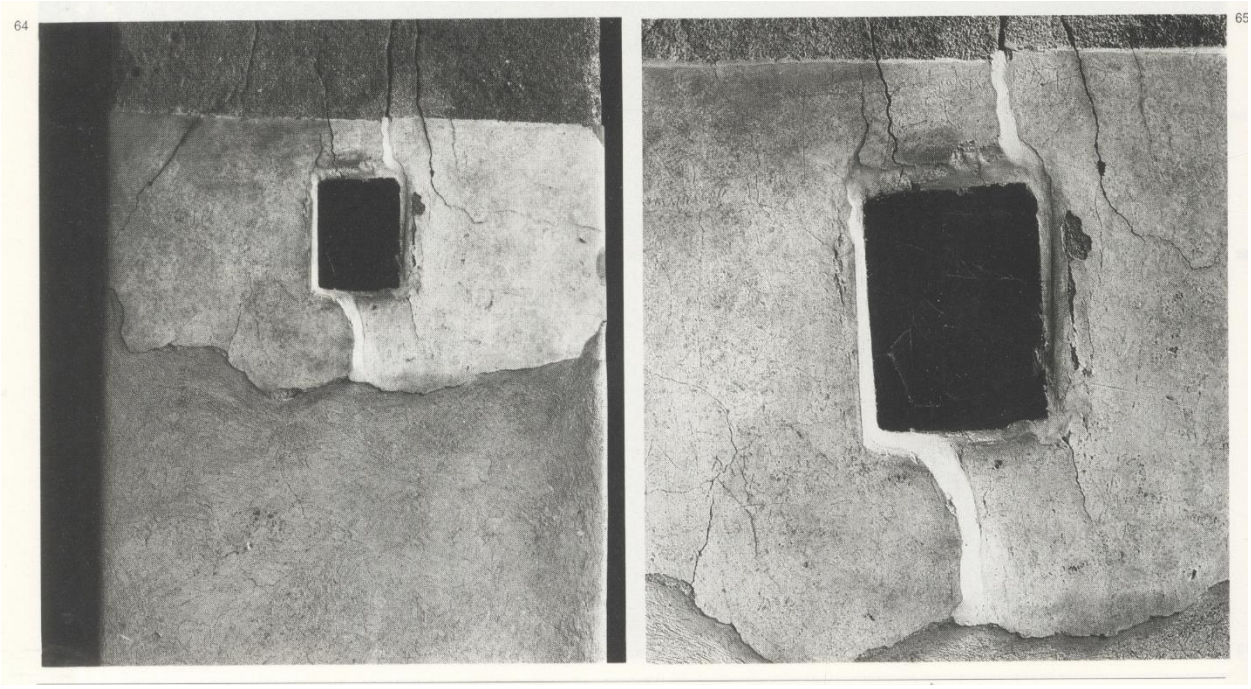


Figure 42: House 1.9.5 mirror from (de Vos 1990b, 44)

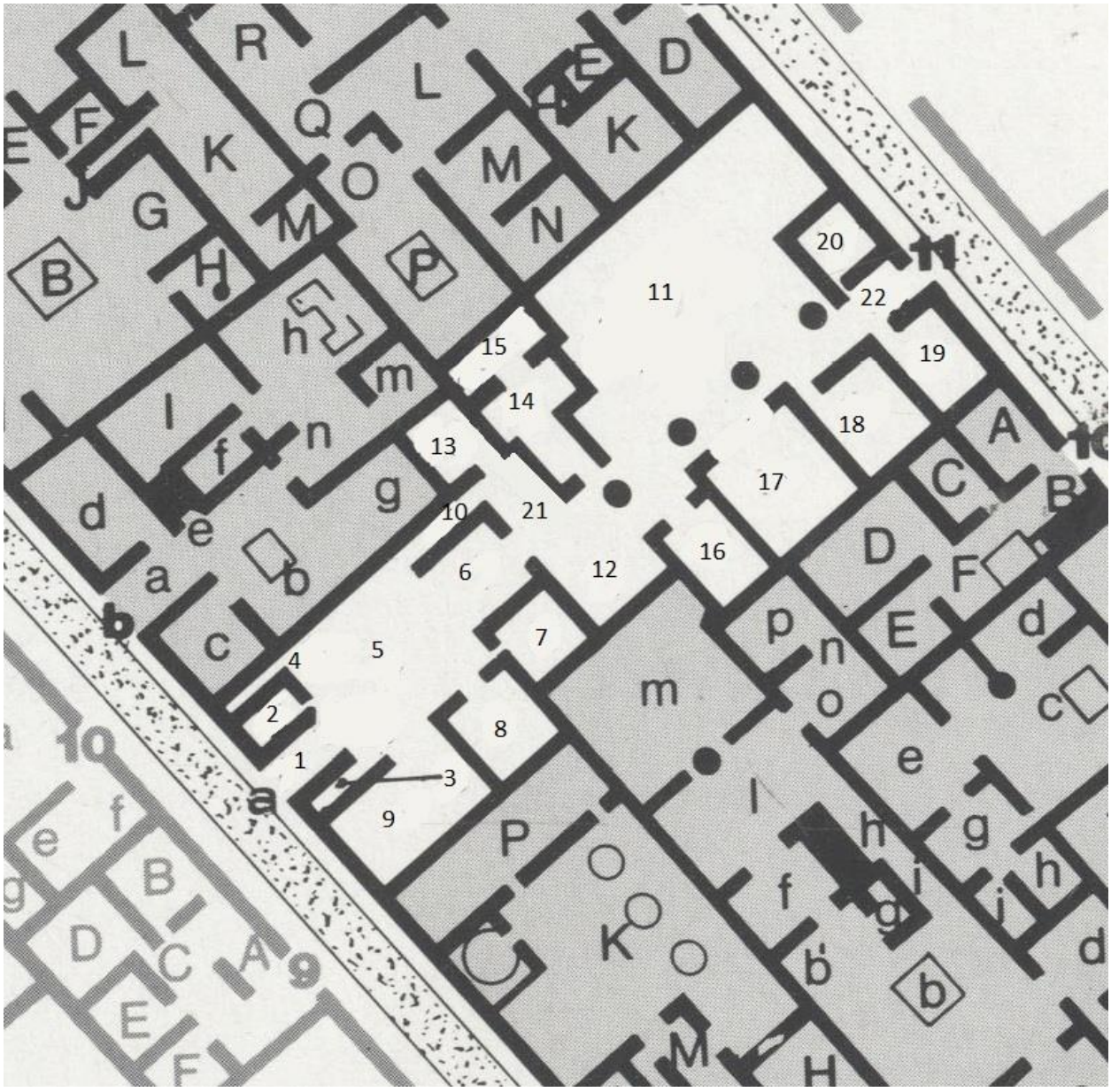


Figure 43: Plan of V.4.a from (de Vos 1991b, 966), numbers added by the author

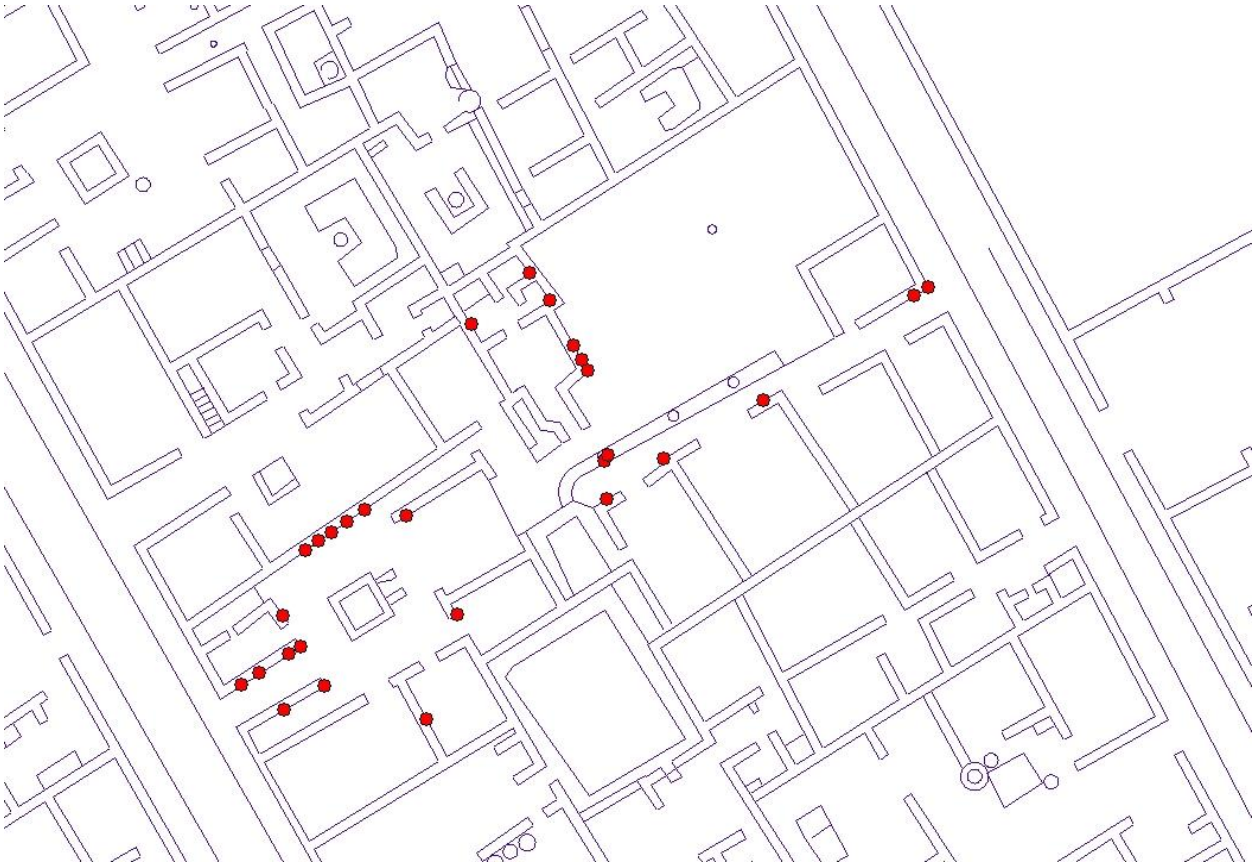


Figure 44: GIS Map of V.4.a, graffiti indicated by red dots

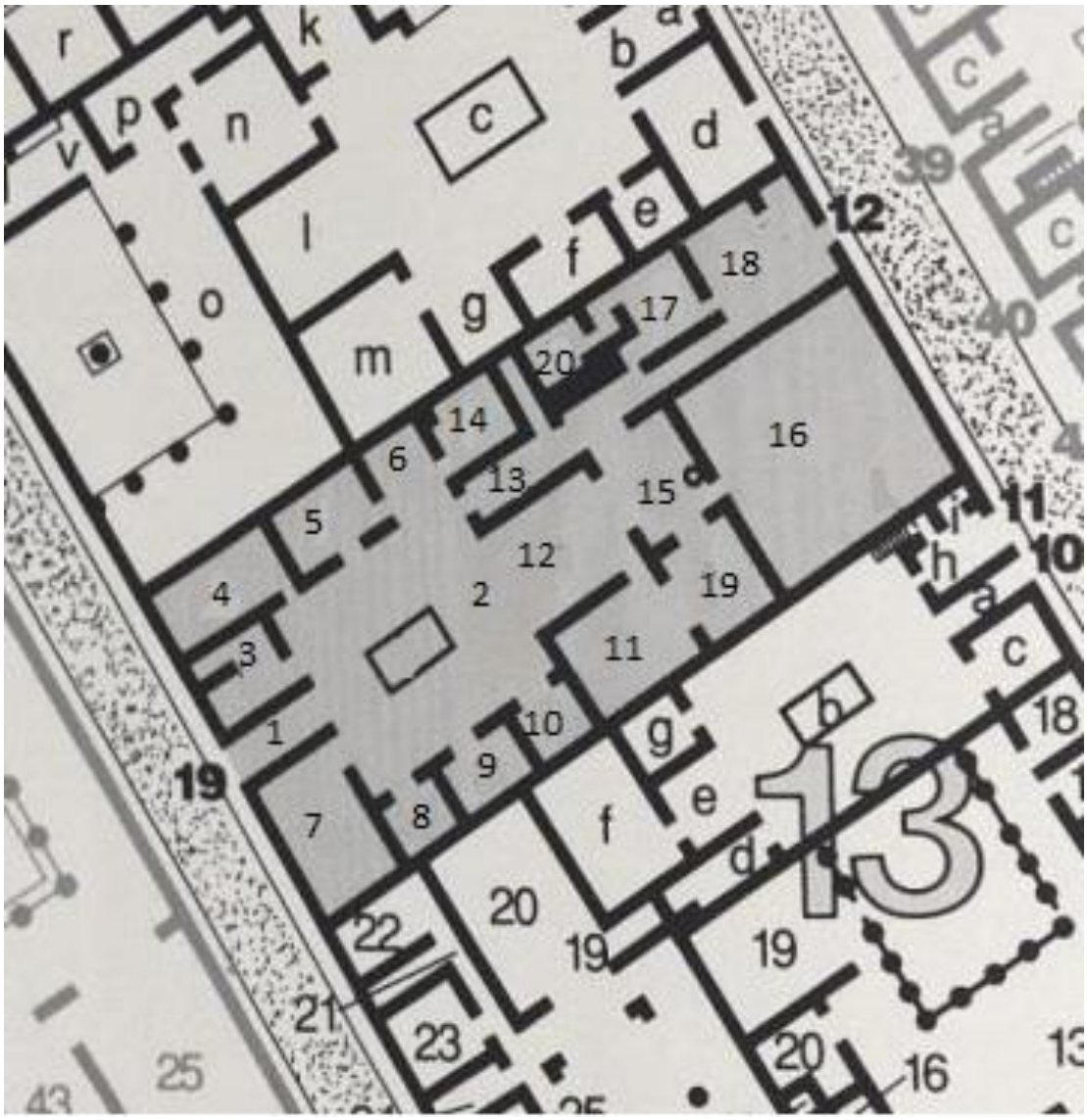


Figure 45: Plan of VI.13.19 from (Sampaola 1994, 202), numbers added by the author

Figure 46: GIS Map of VI.13.19, graffiti indicated by red dots

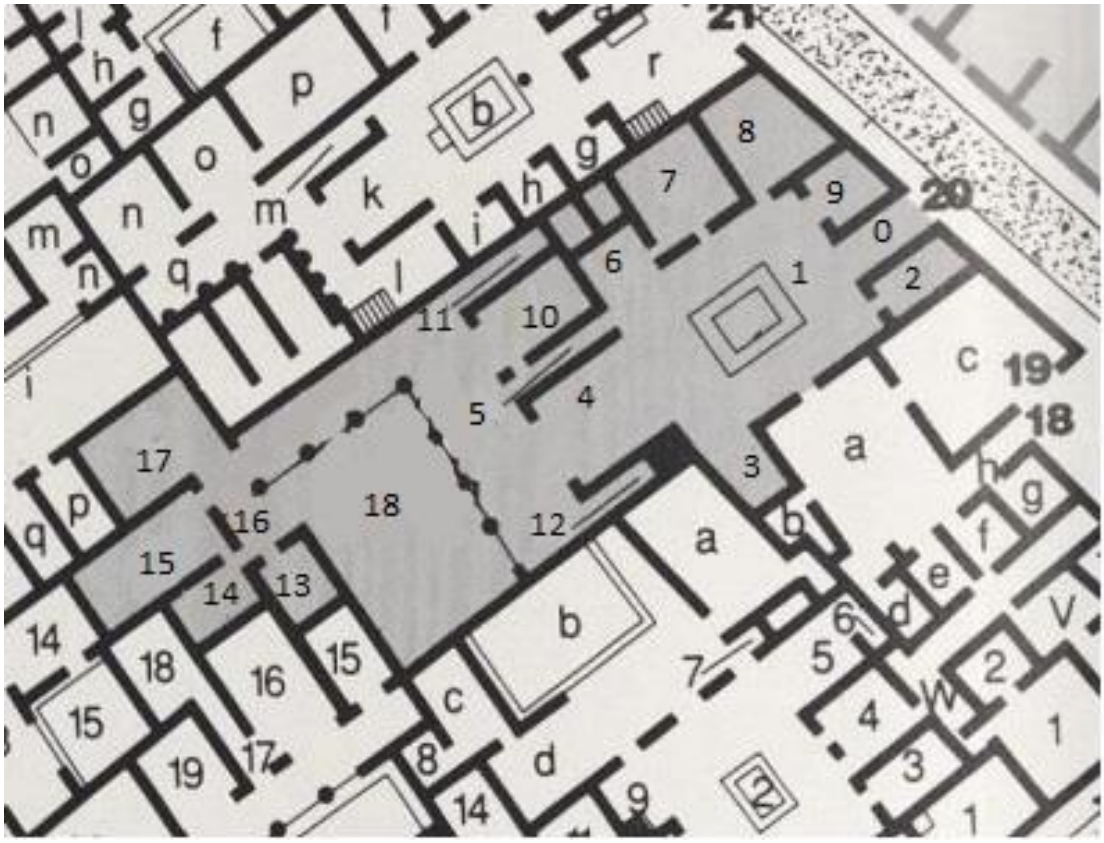


Figure 47: Plan of VI.14.20 from (Narciso 1994, 264), numbers added by the author

Figure 48: GIS Map of VI.14.20, graffiti indicated by red dots

Figure 49: Plan of I.9.13 from (de Vos 1991c, 172), numbers added by author

Figure 50: GIS Map of I.9.13, graffiti indicated by red dots

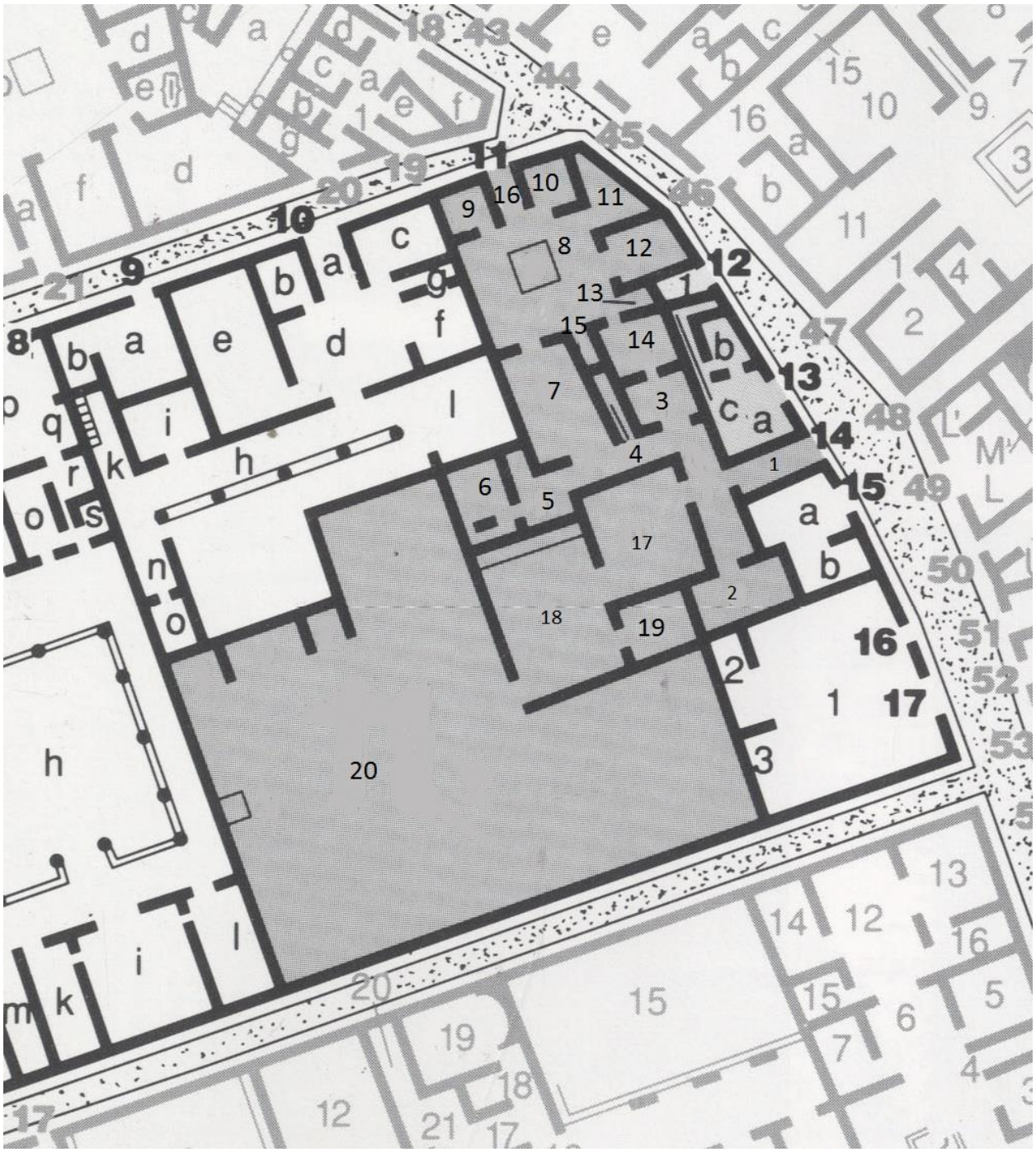


Figure 51: Plan of VII.11.11 from (Sampaola 1997, 463), numbers added by author

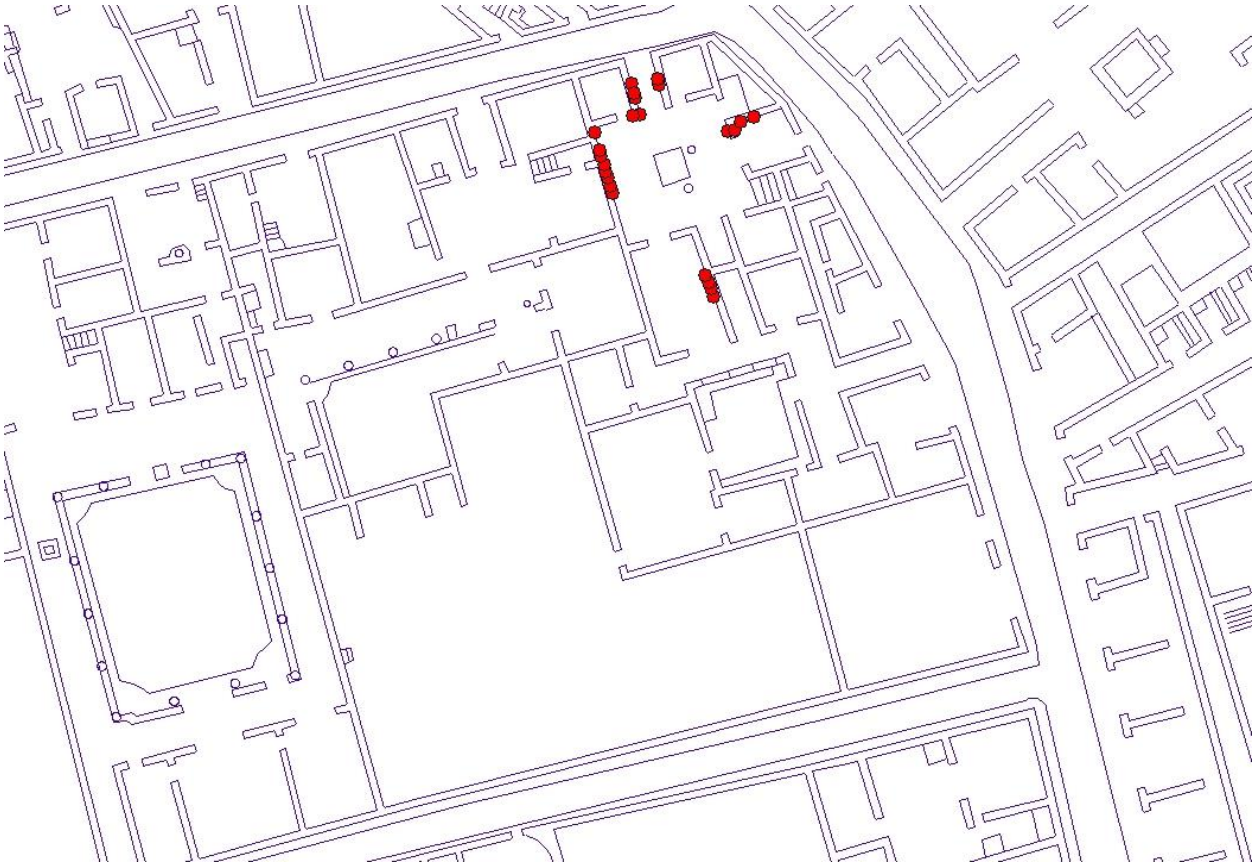


Figure 52: GIS Map of VII.11.11, graffiti indicated by red dots

correlation of connectivity with graffiti	0.401559474
correlation of control value with graffiti	0.396576326
correlation of mean depth with graffiti	-0.28511478
correlation of RRA with graffiti	-0.140193562
correlation of RA with graffiti	-0.093635912
correlation of control value + (1-RA) with	0.389179419

Figure 53: Jass Data Correlations

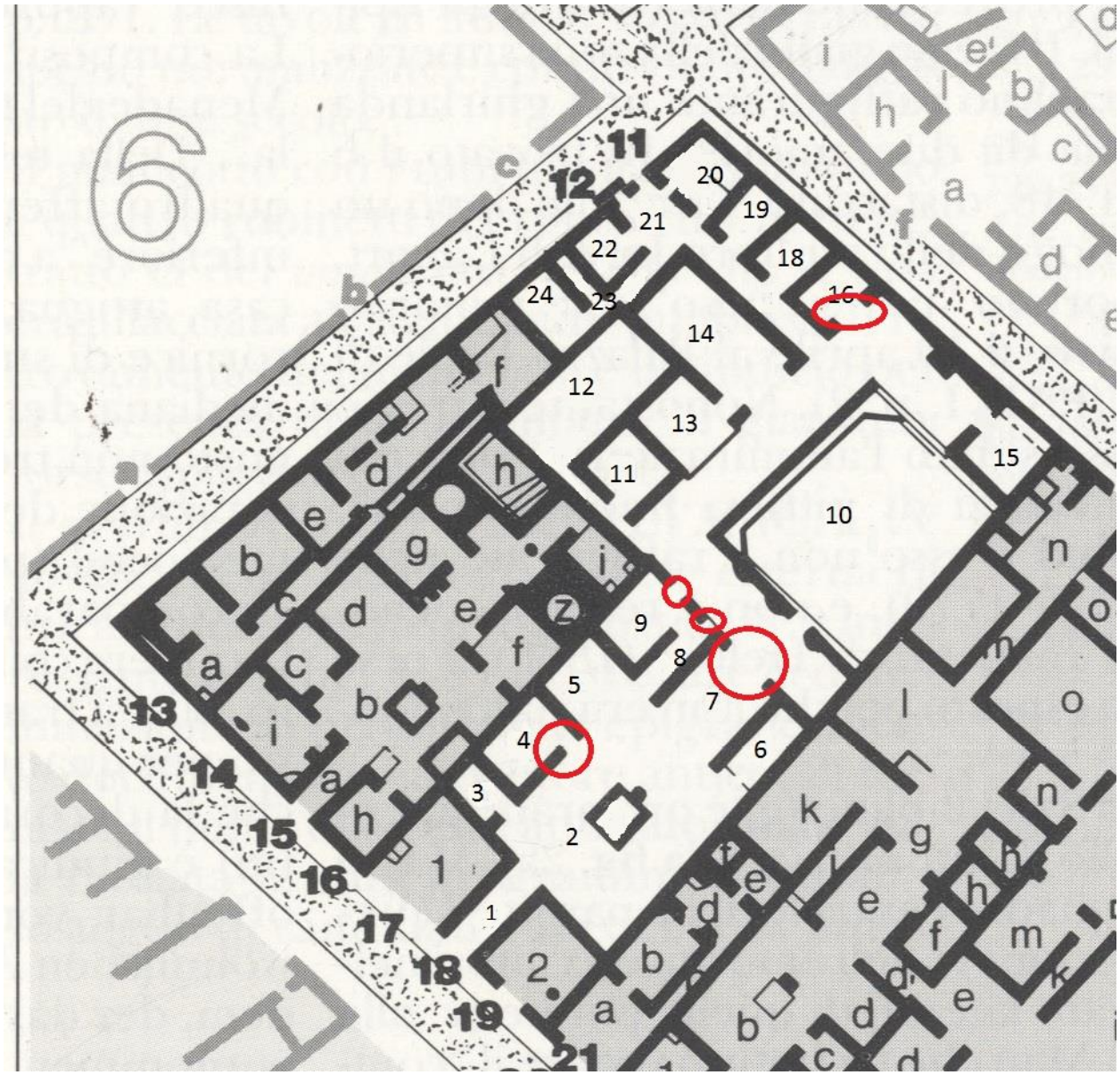


Figure 54: Plan of V.1.18, doors closed during analysis indicated by red circles from ((de Vos 1991a, 539), numbers and circles added by author

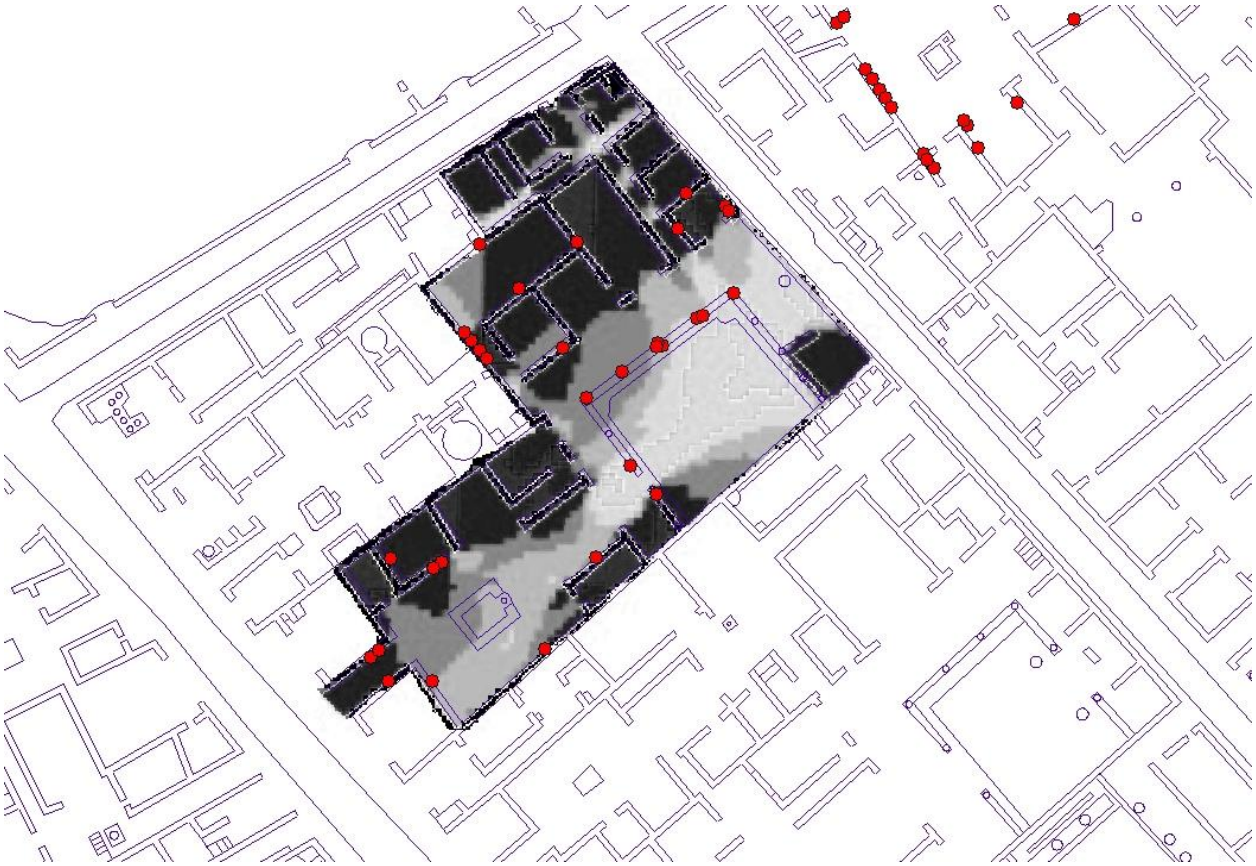


Figure 55: V.4.a; Map of CONTROL; doors open

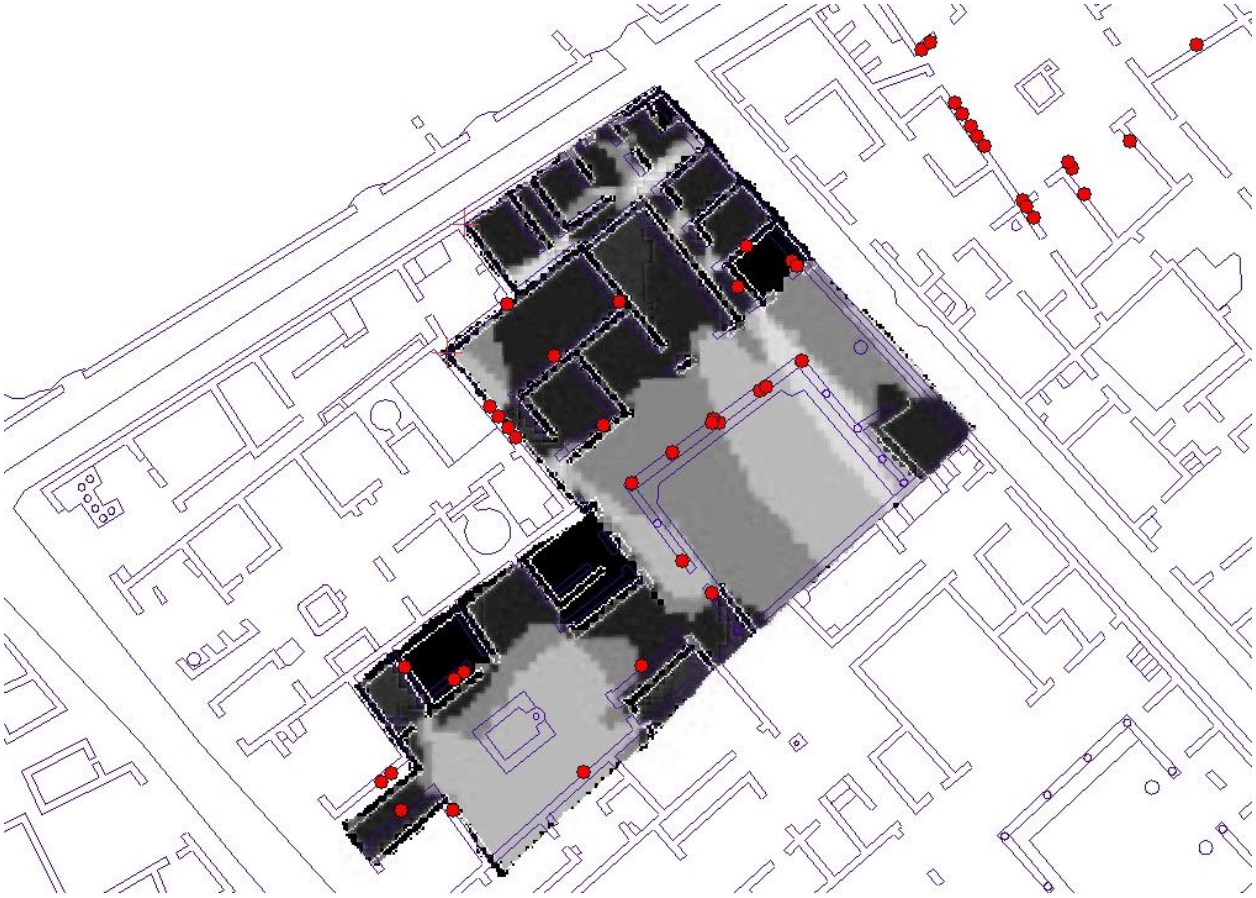


Figure 56: V.4.a; Map of CONTROL; doors closed

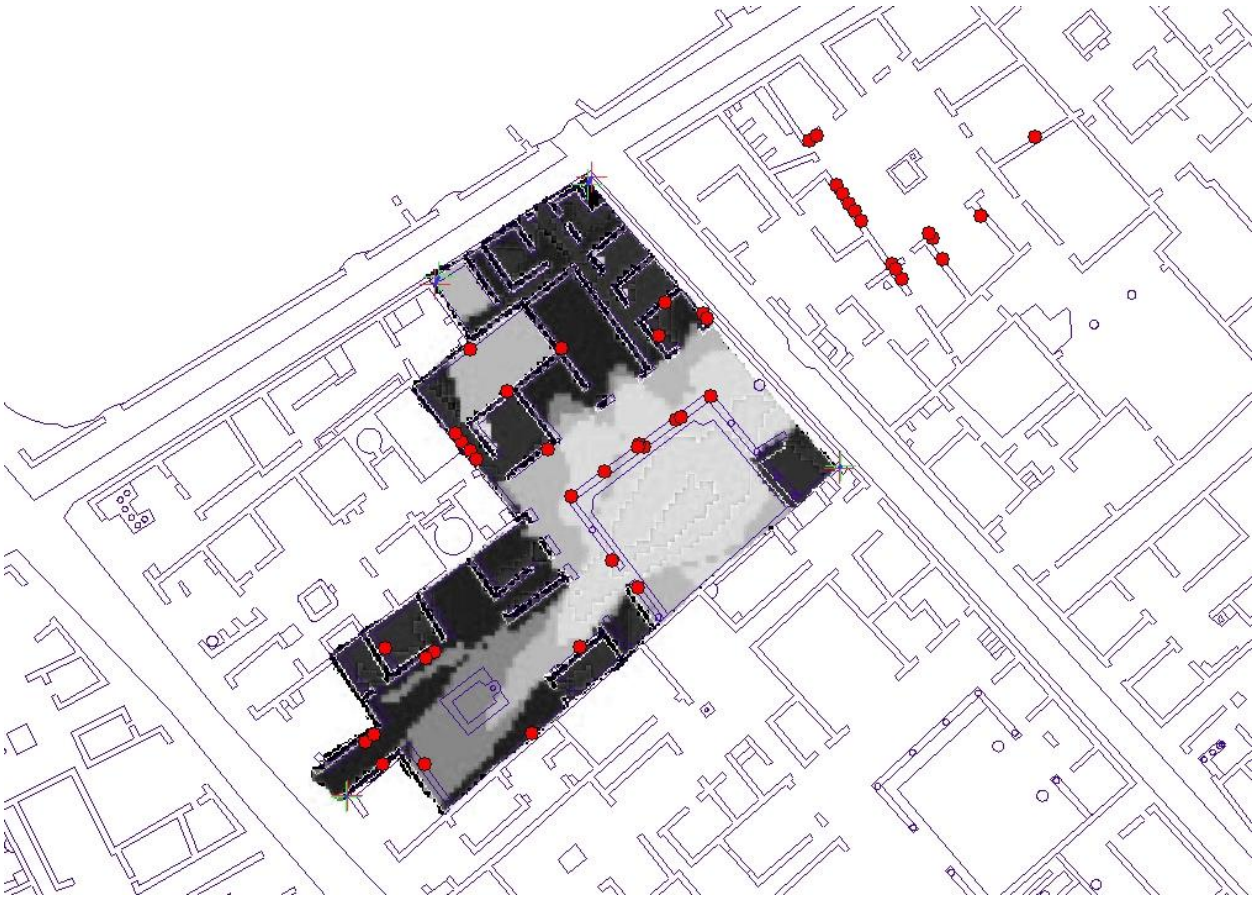


Figure 57: V.4.a; Map of CONTROLLABILITY; doors open

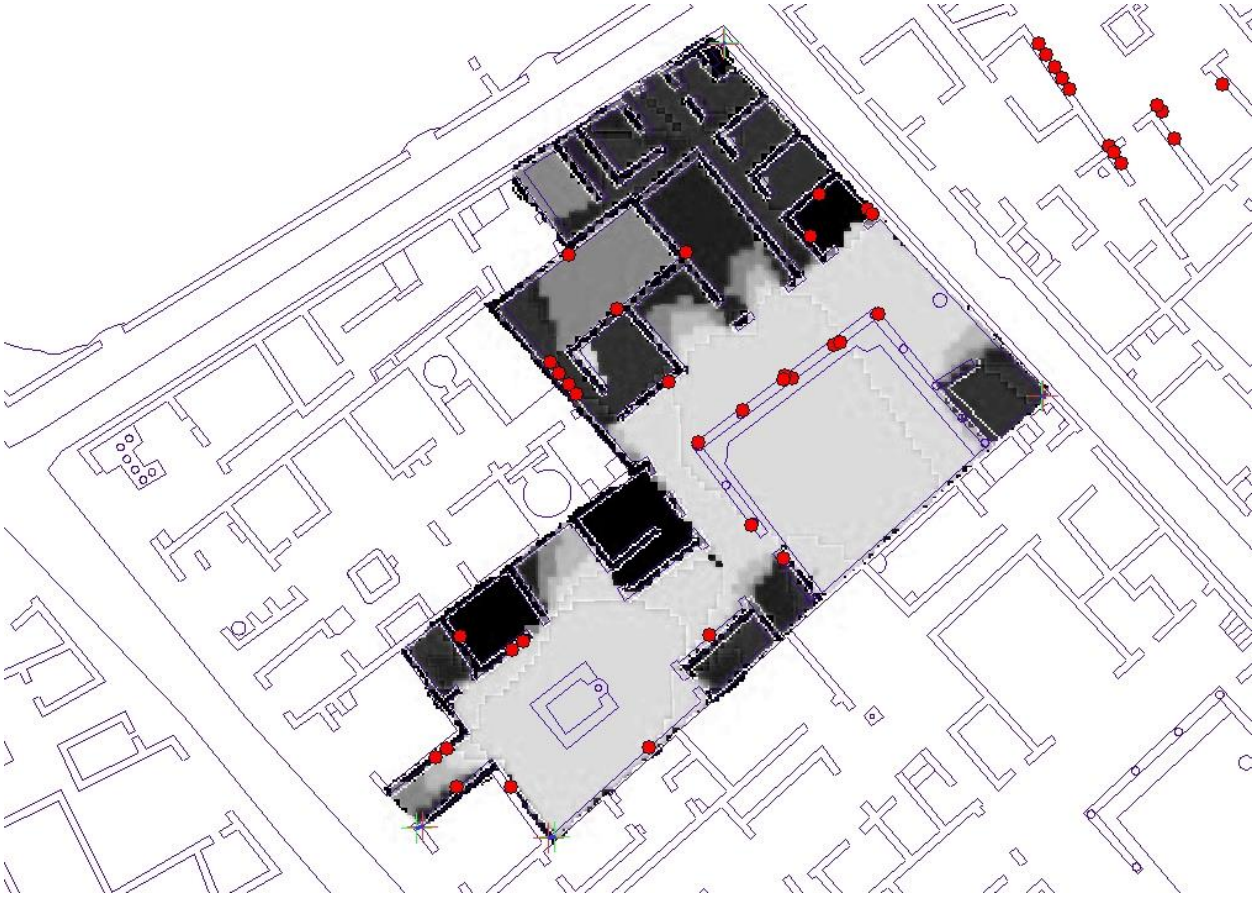


Figure 58: V.4.a; Map of CONTROLLABILITY; doors closed

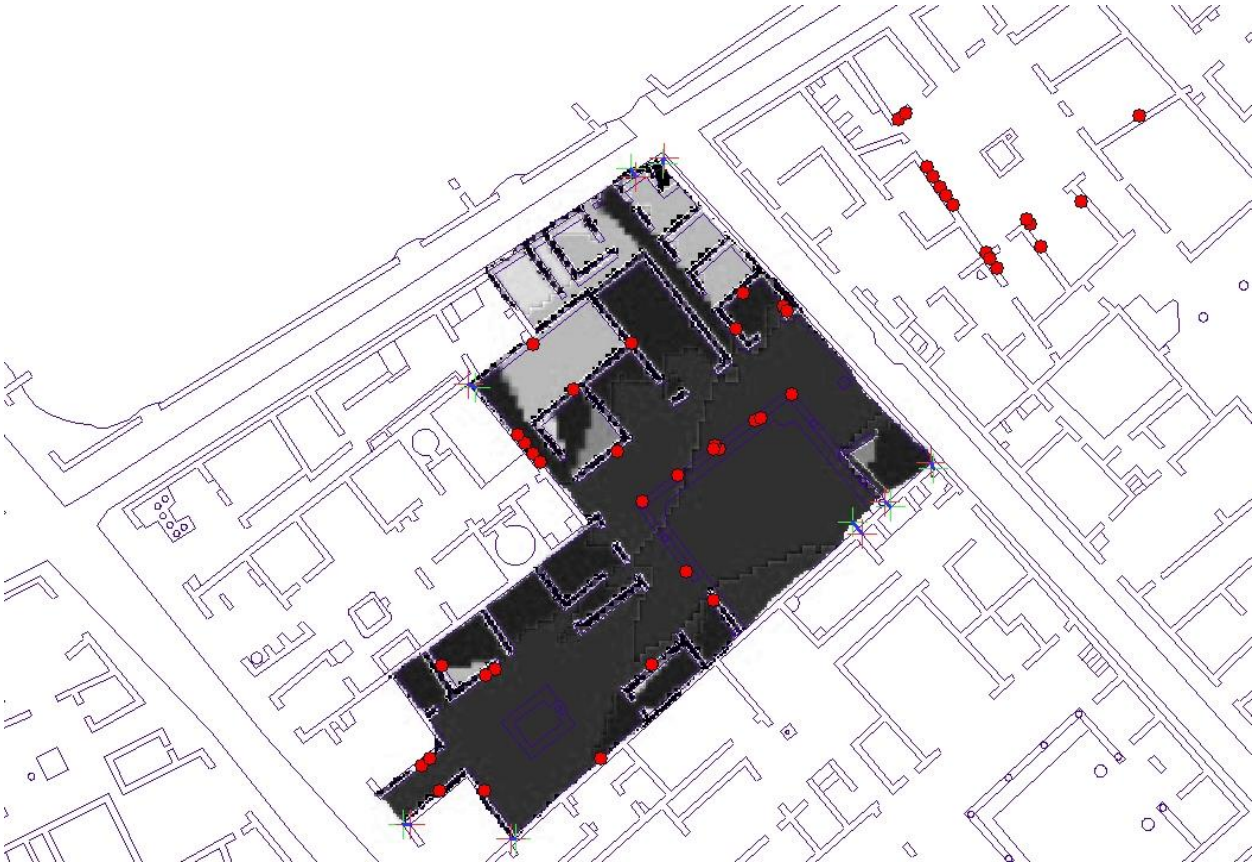


Figure 59: V.4.a; Map of MEAN DEPTH; doors OPEN

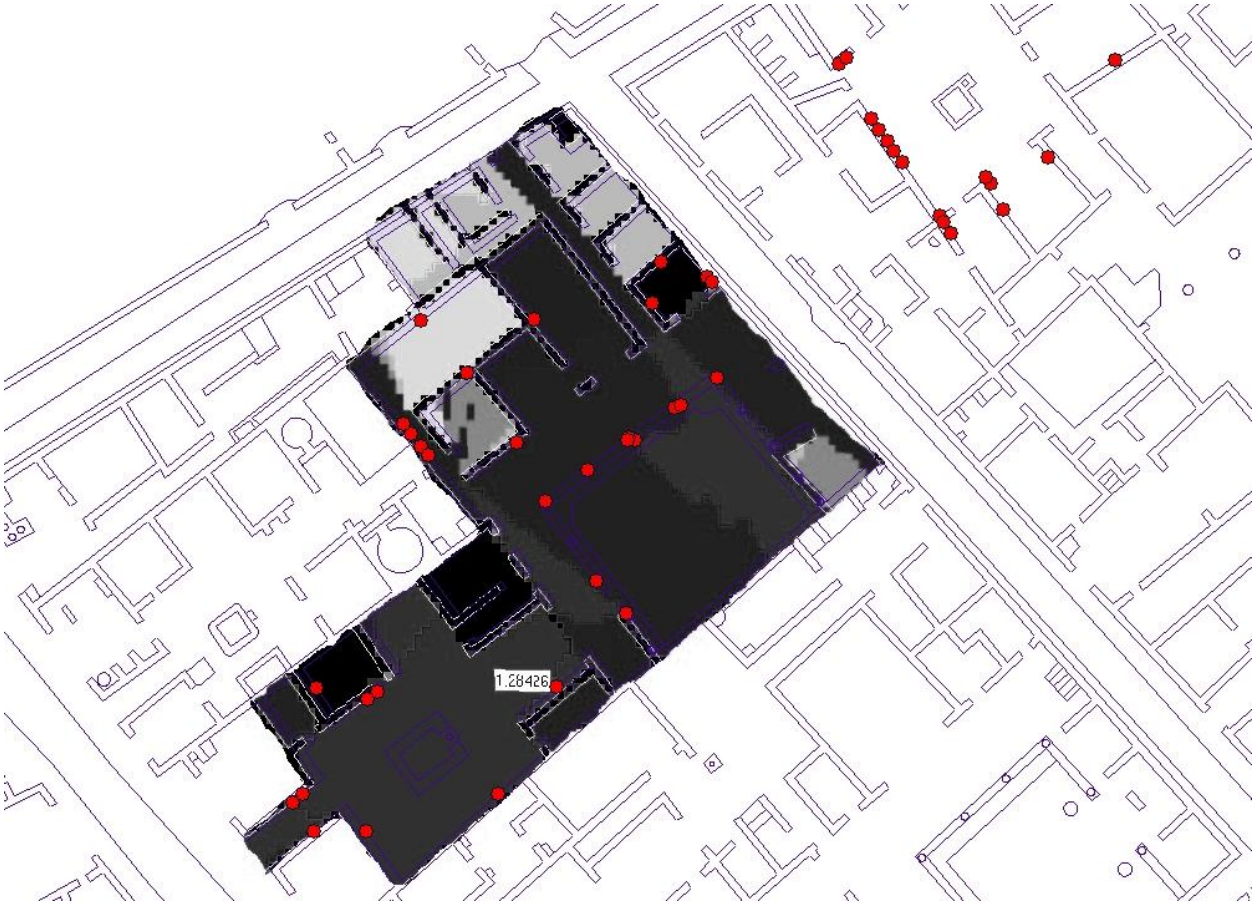


Figure 60: V.4.a; Map of MEAN DEPTH; doors closed

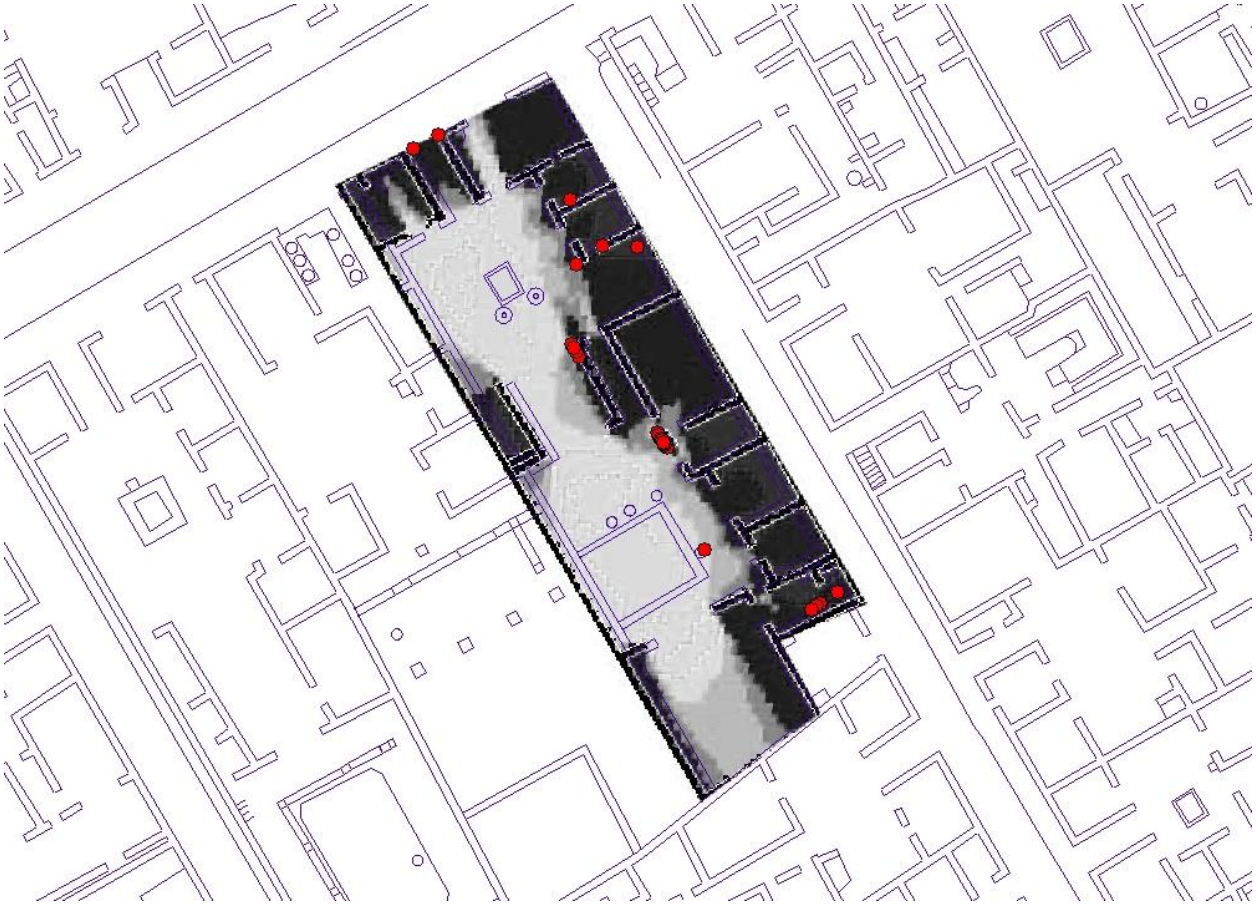


Figure 61: I.9.5; Map of CONTROL

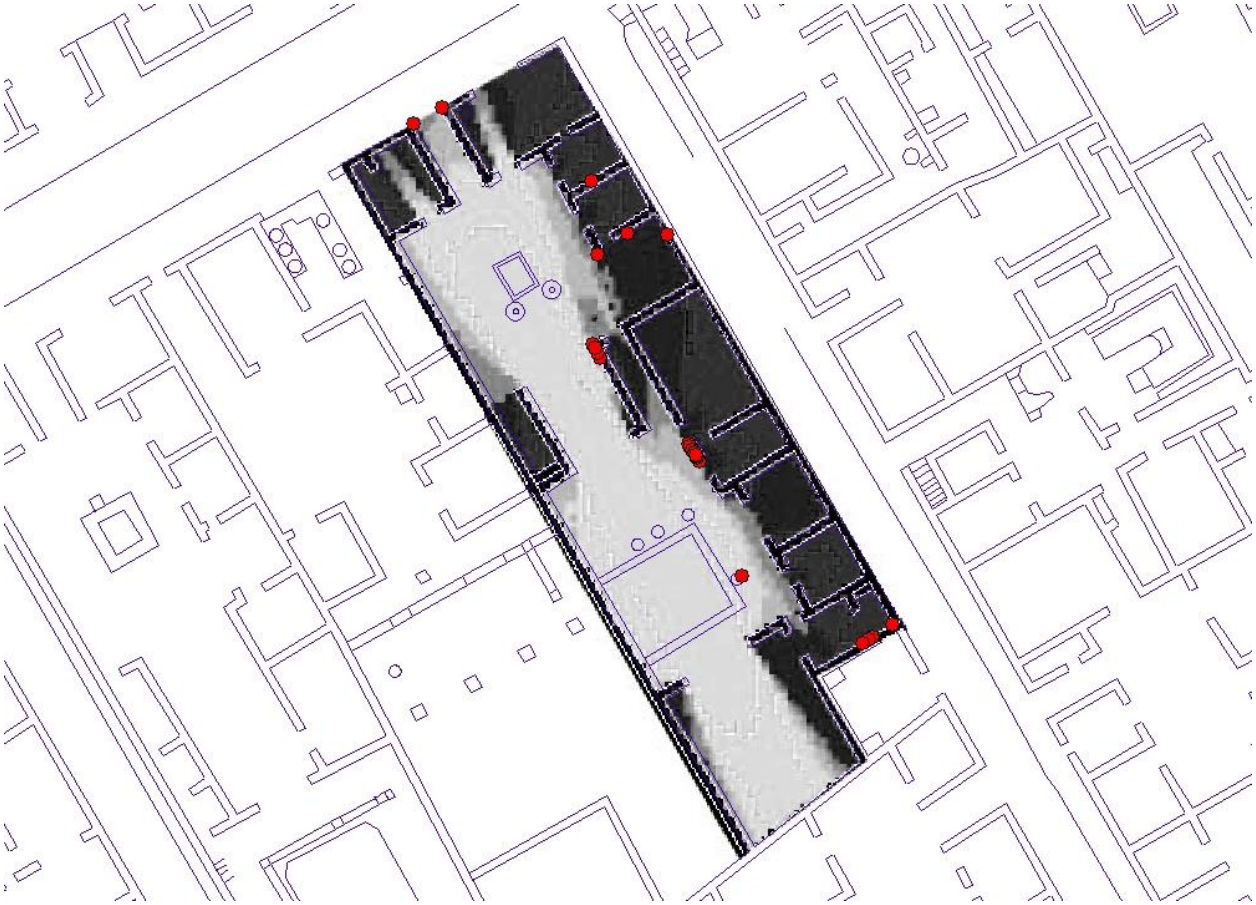


Figure 62: I.9.5; Map of CONTROLLABILITY

Figure 63: I.9.5; Map of MEAN DEPTH

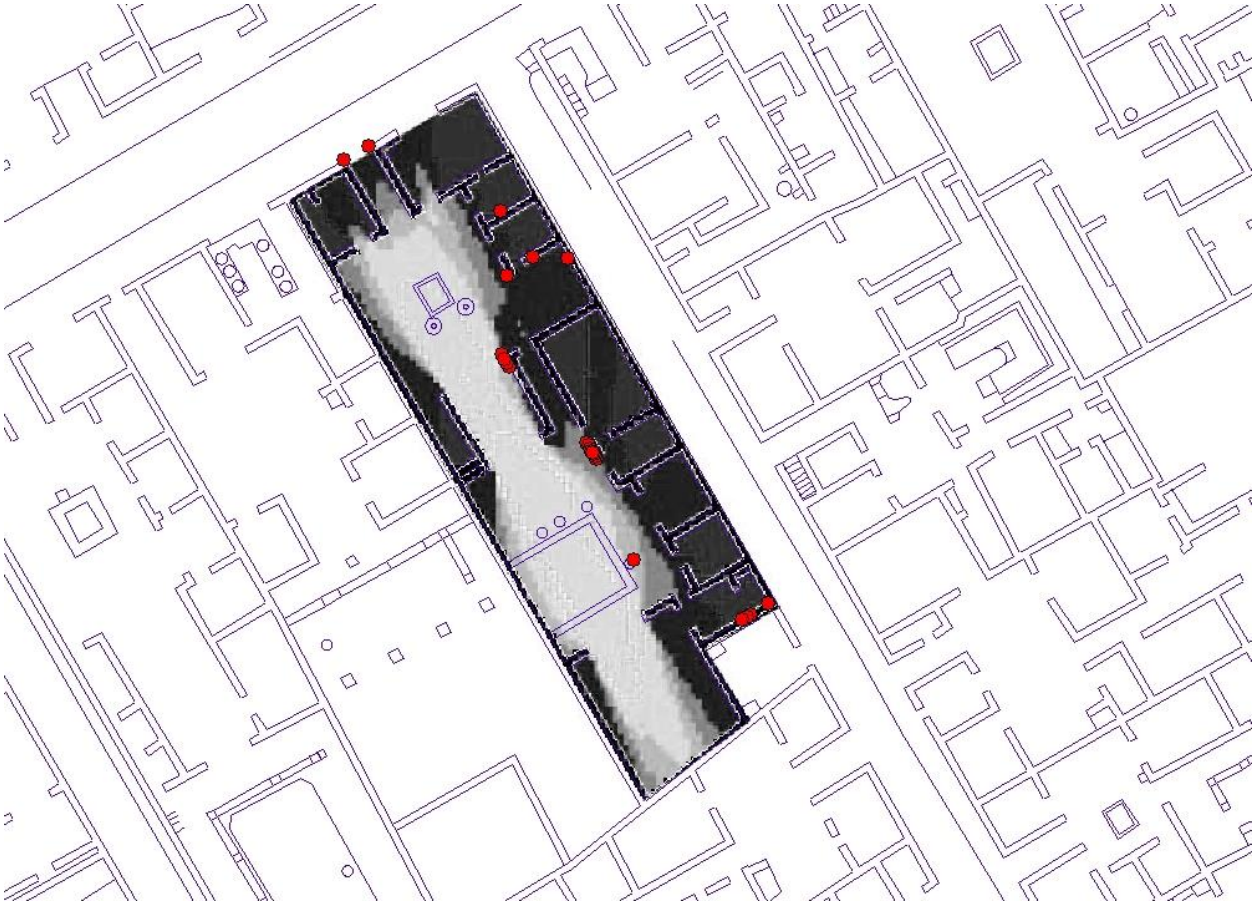


Figure 64: I.9.5; Map of INTEGRATION

Figure 65: VII.11.11; Map of CONTROL

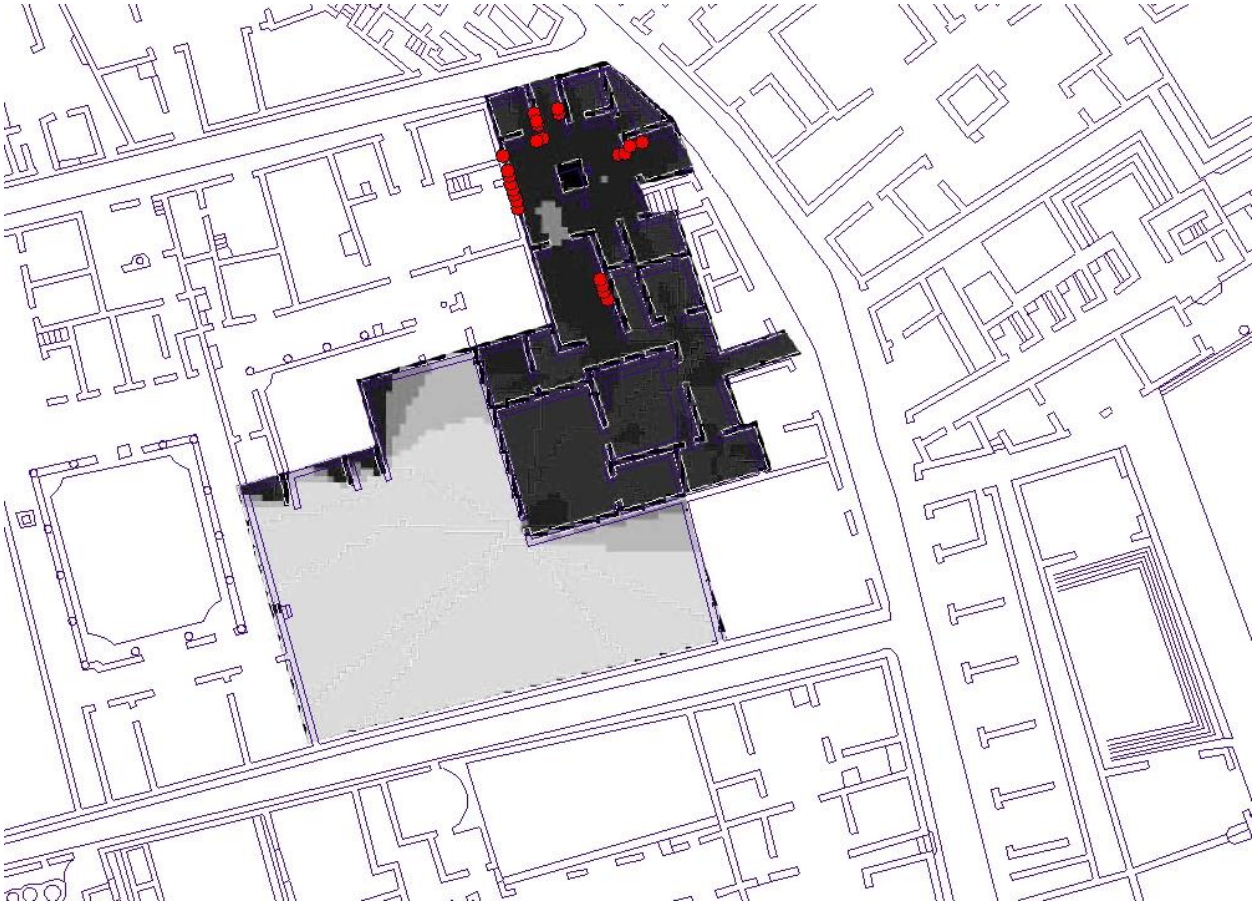


Figure 66: VII.11.11; Map of CONTROLLABILITY

Figure 67: VII.11.11; Map of MEAN DEPTH

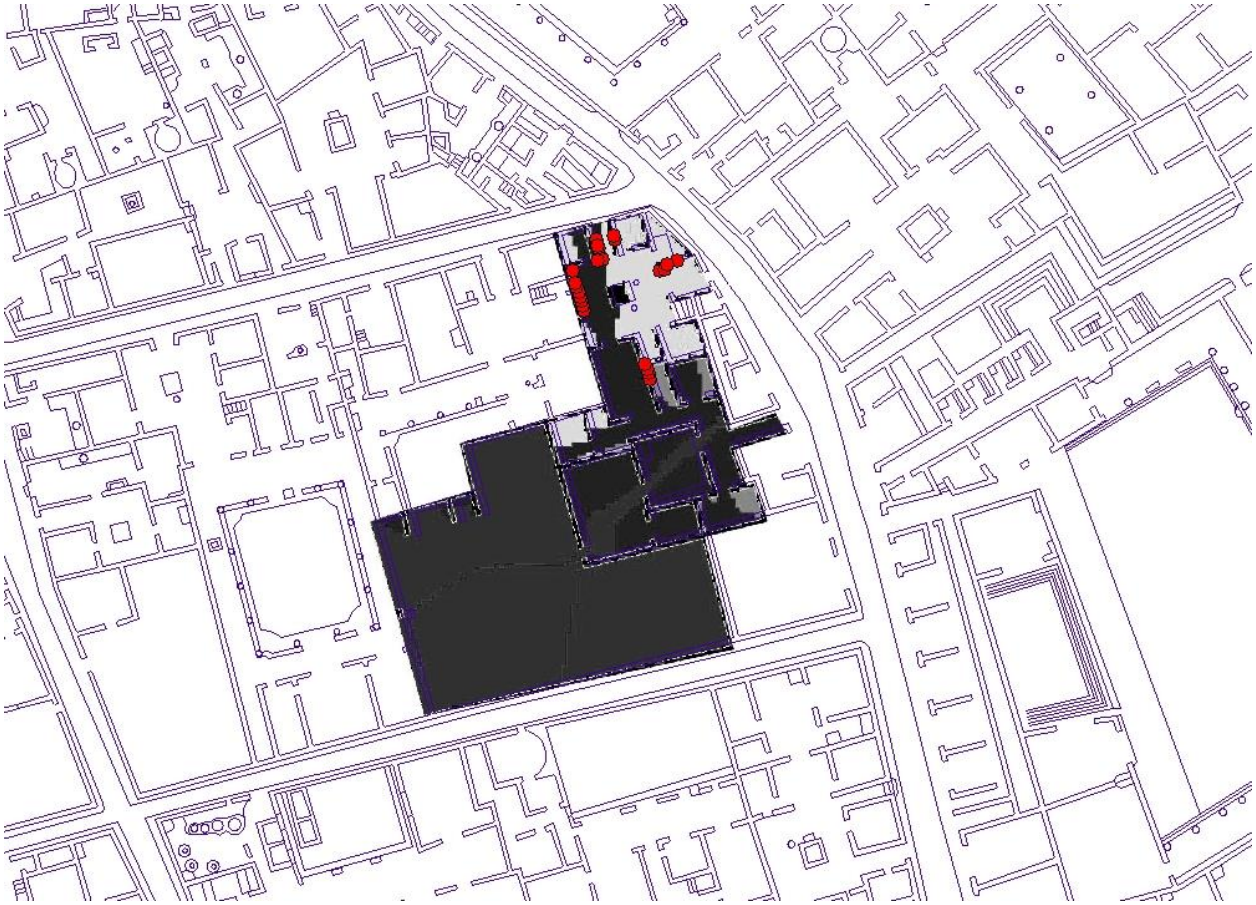


Figure 68: VII.11.11; Map of INTEGRATION

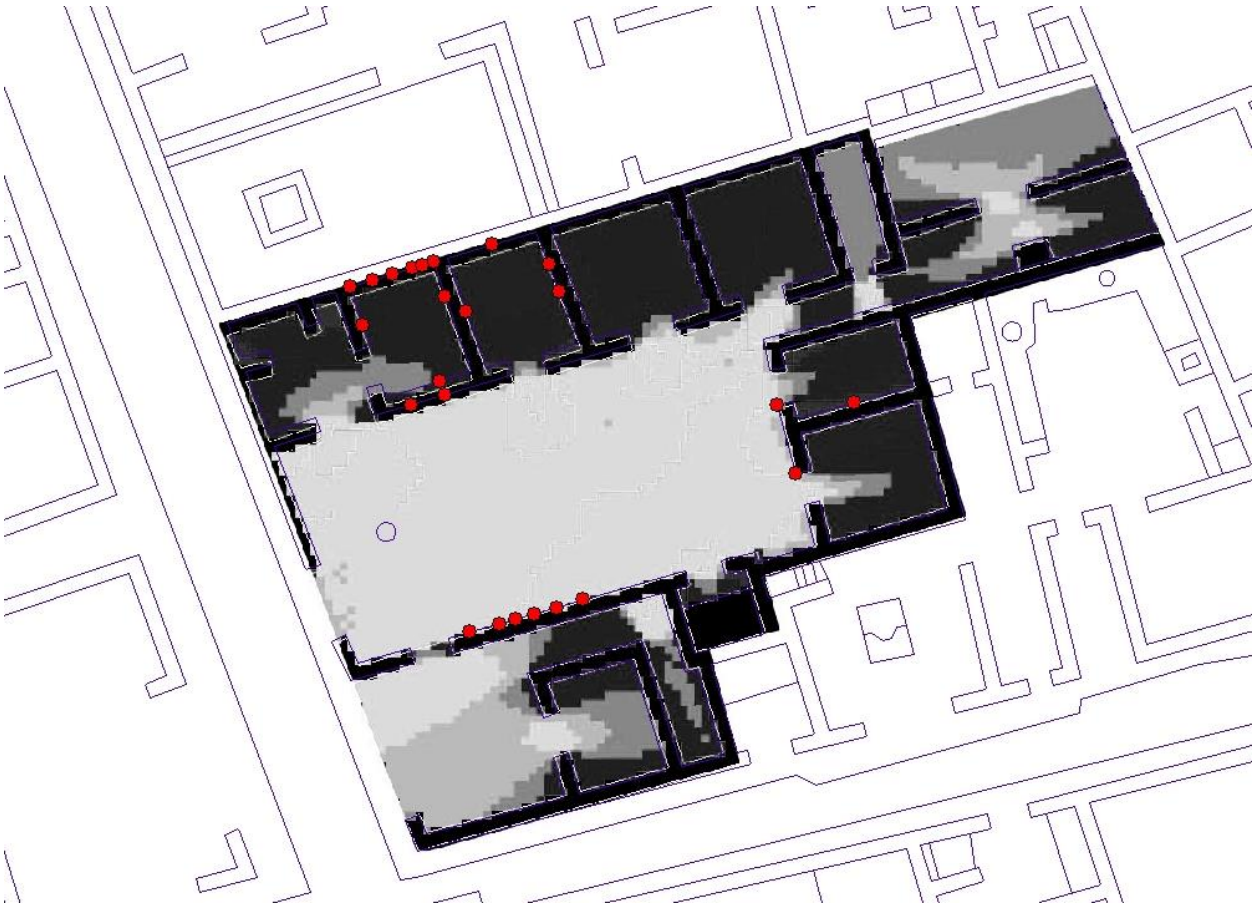


Figure 69: VII.11.35; Map of CONTROL

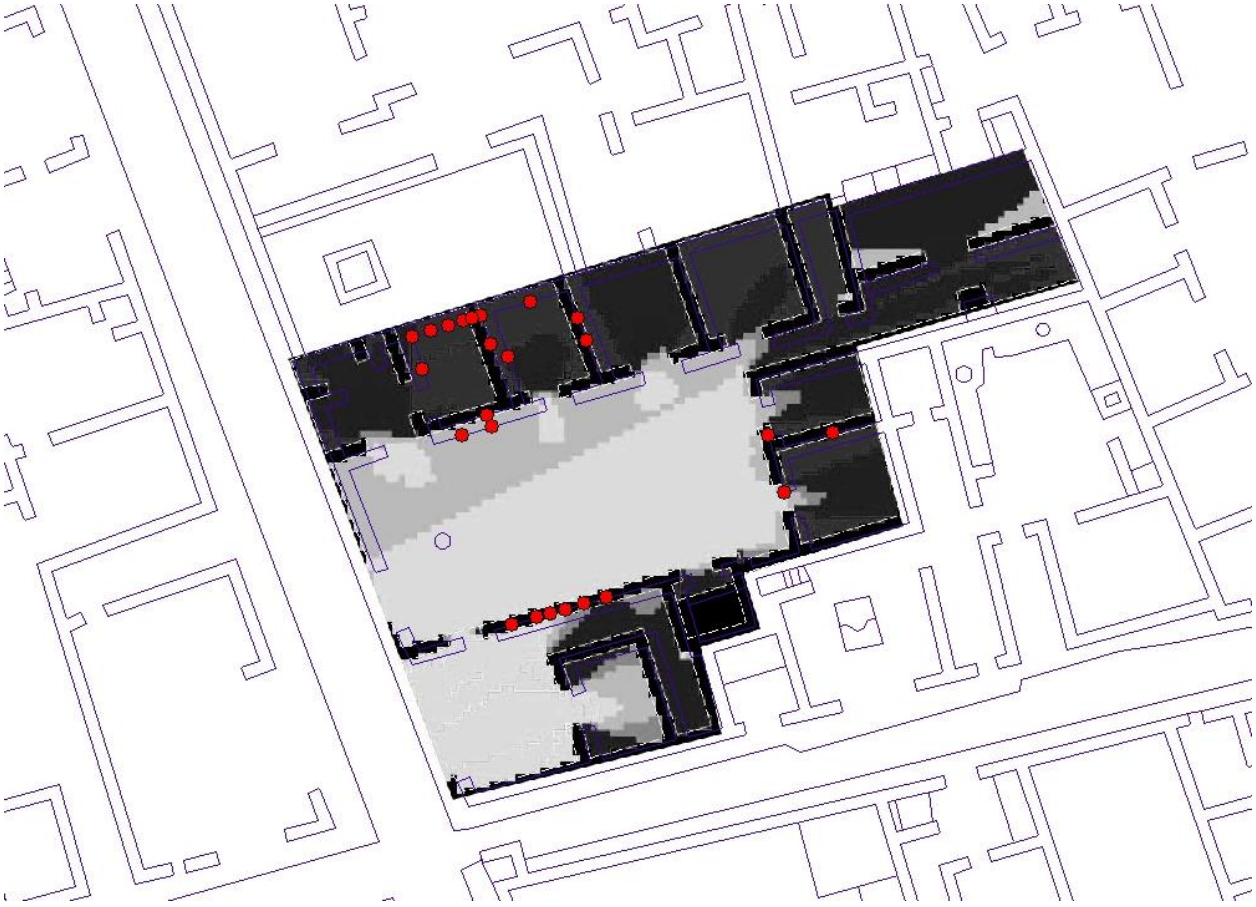


Figure 70: VII.11.35; Map of CONTROLLABILITY

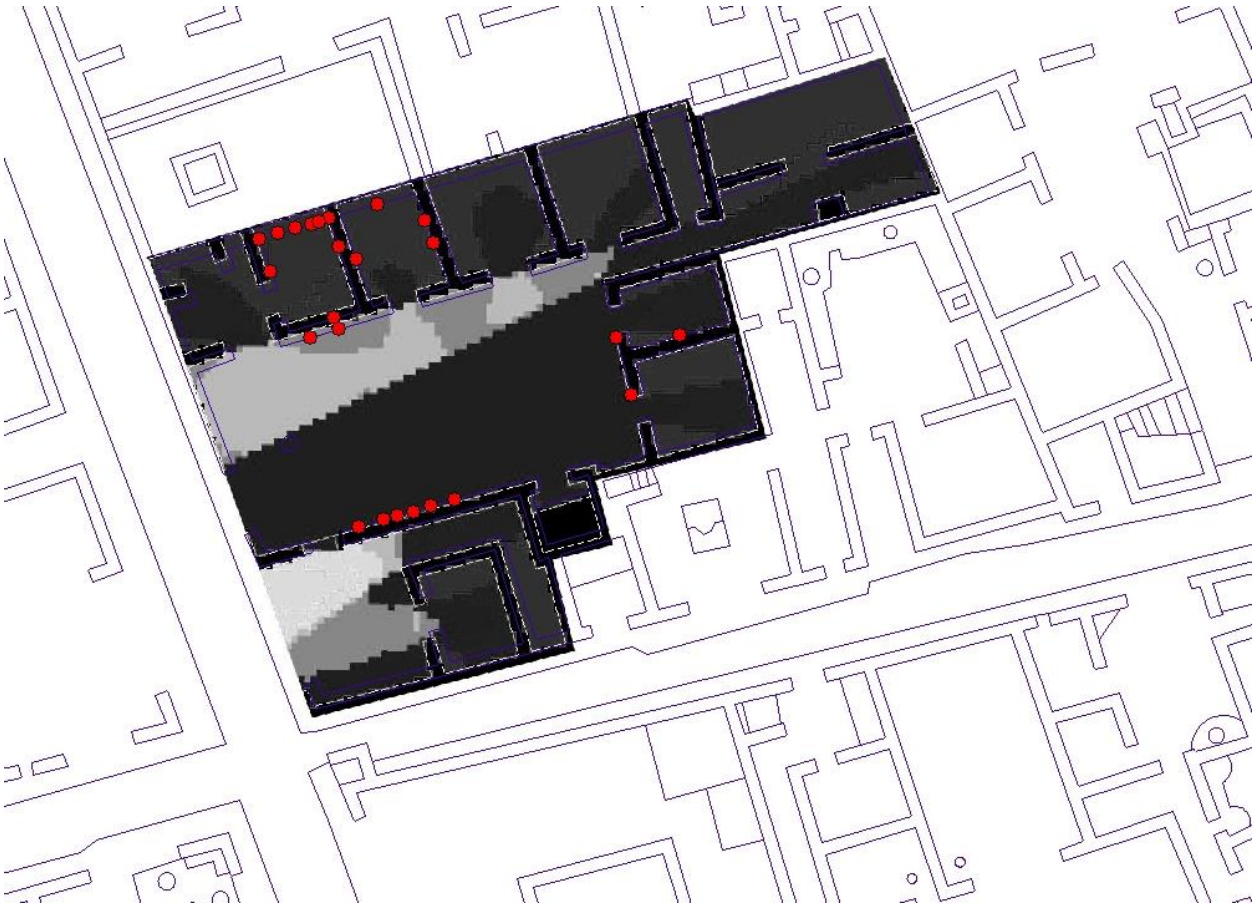


Figure 71: VII.11.35; Map of MEAN DEPTH

Figure 72: VII.11.35; Map of INTEGRATION

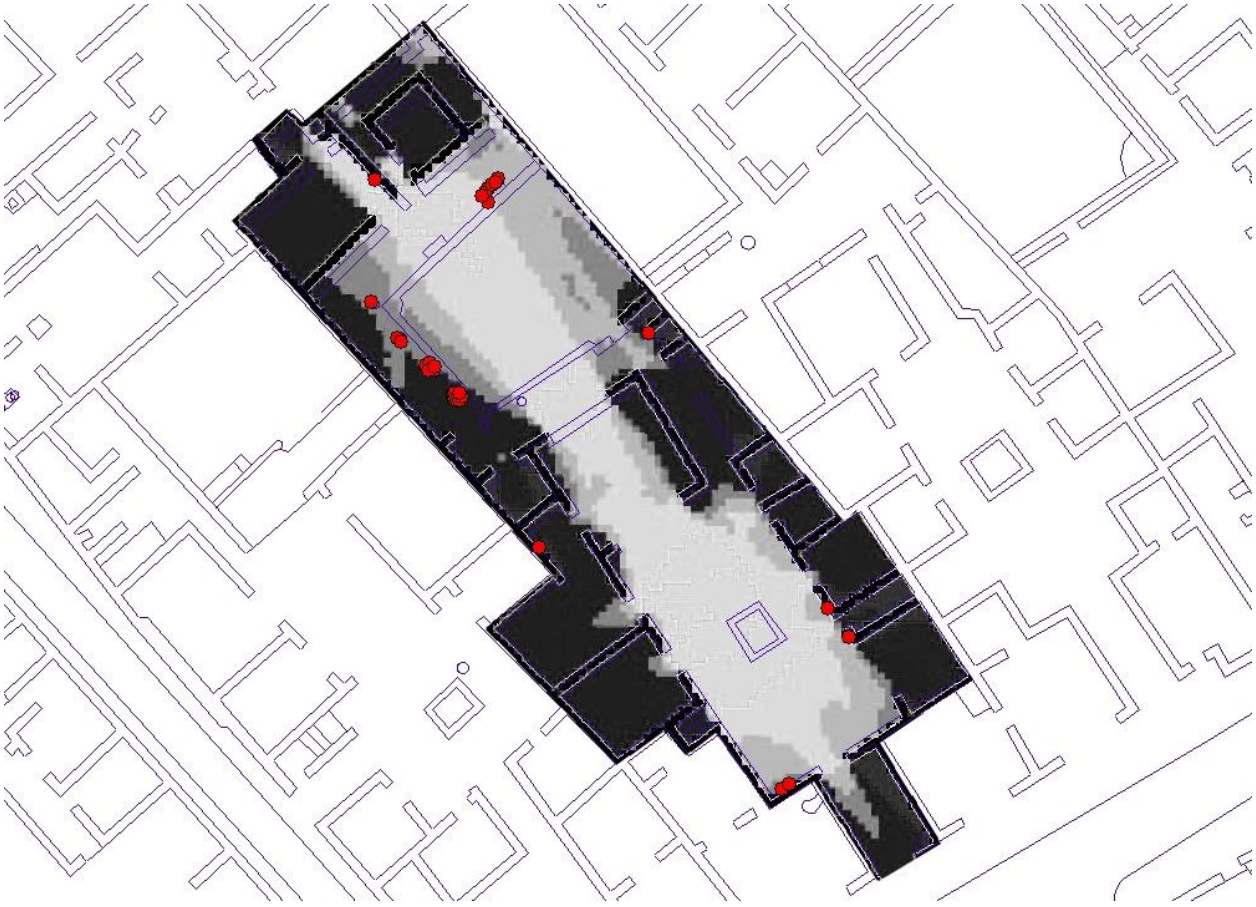


Figure 73: V.2.4; Map of CONTROL

Figure 74: V.2.4; Map of CONTROLLABILITY

Figure 75: V.2.4; Map of MEAN DEPTH

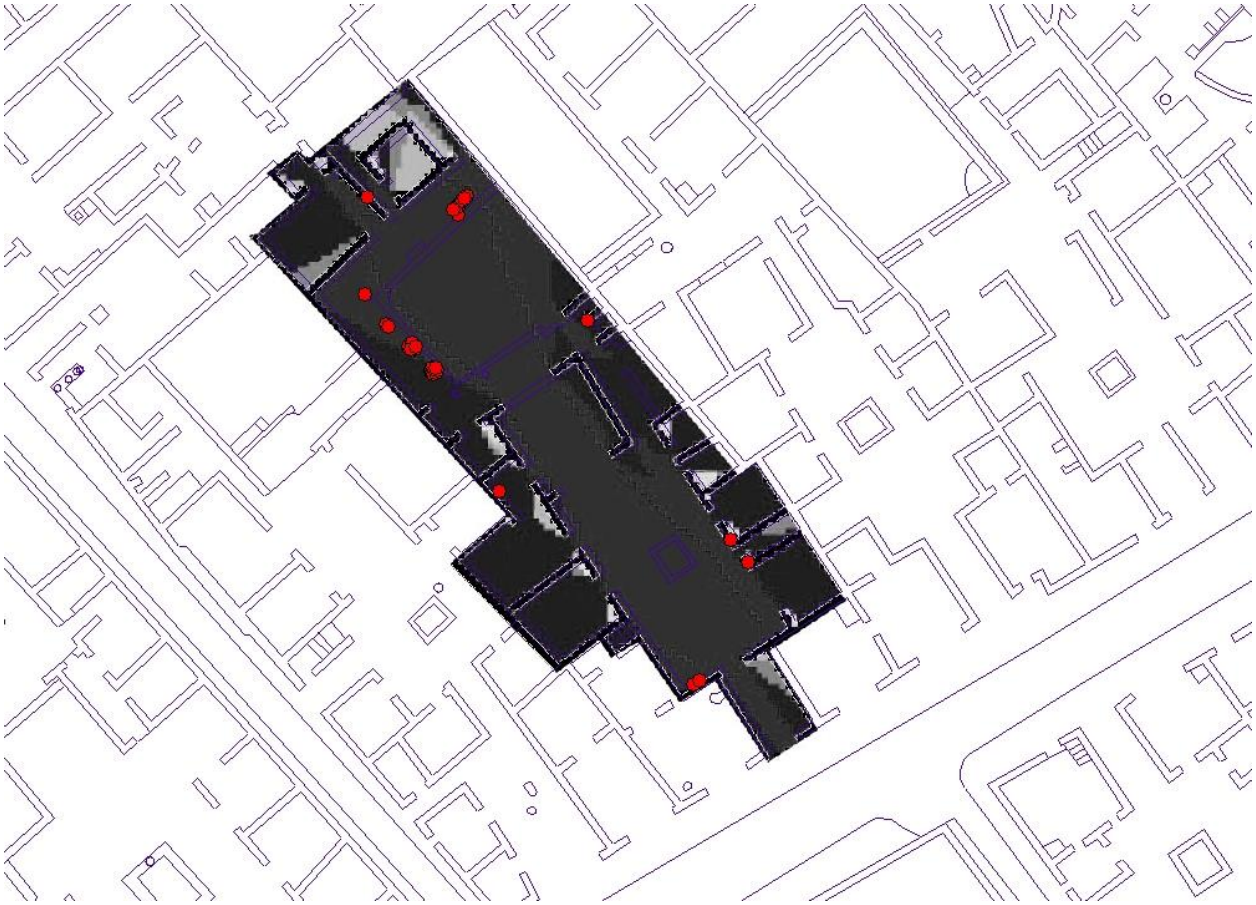


Figure 76: V.2.4; Map of INTEGRATION

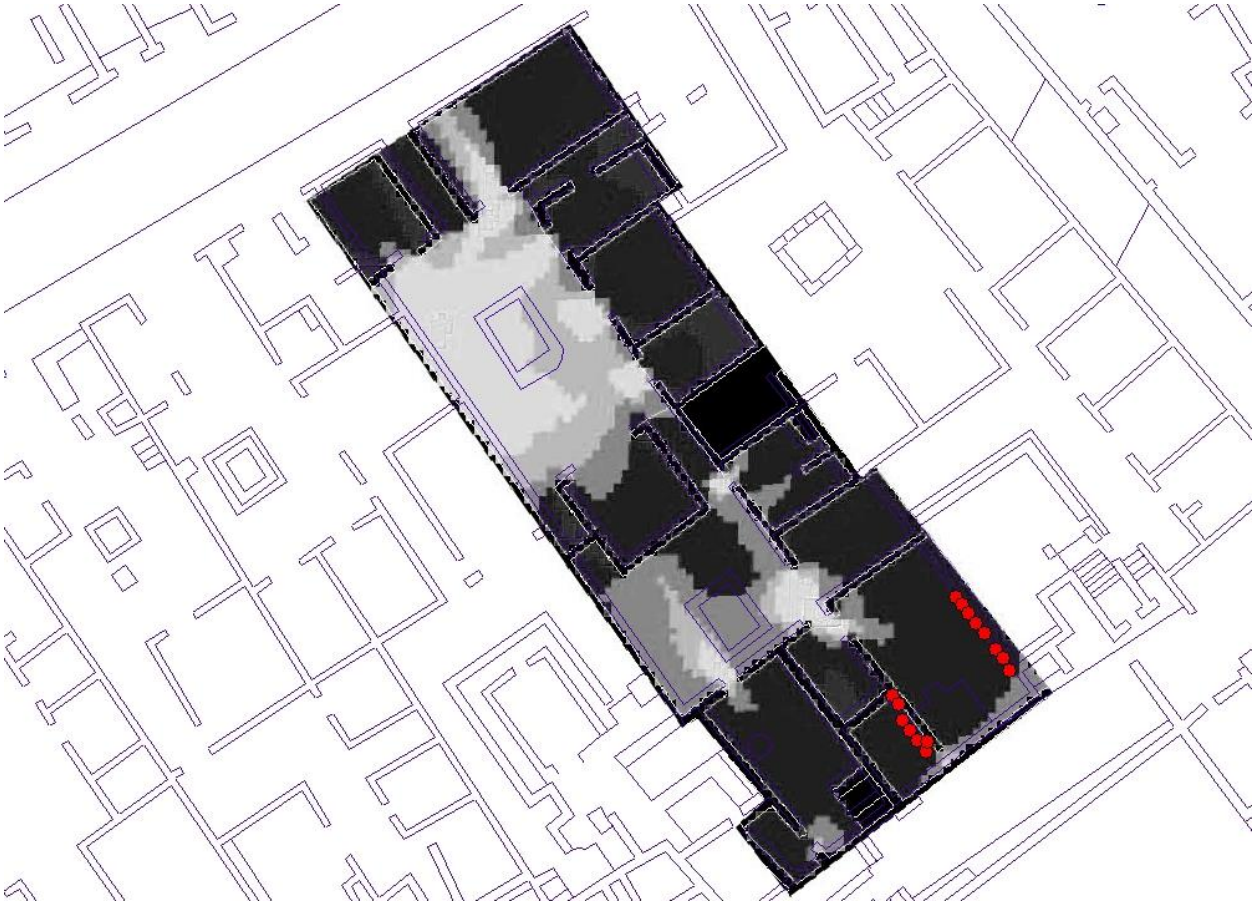


Figure 77: I.6.4; Map of CONTROL, doors open

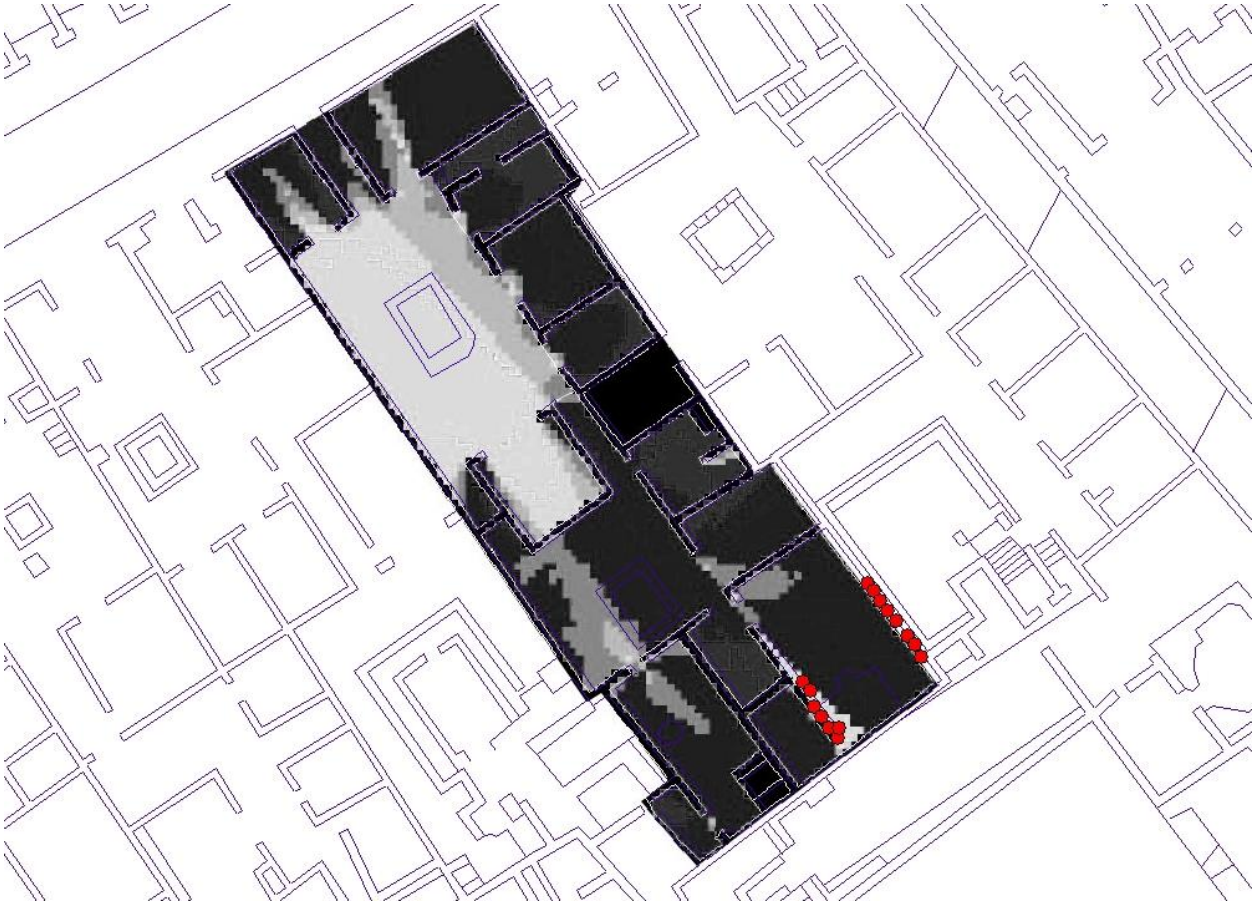


Figure 78: I.6.4; Map of CONTROLLABILITY, doors open

Figure 79: I.6.4; Map of MEAN DEPTH, doors open

Figure 80: I.6.4; Map of INTEGRATION, doors open

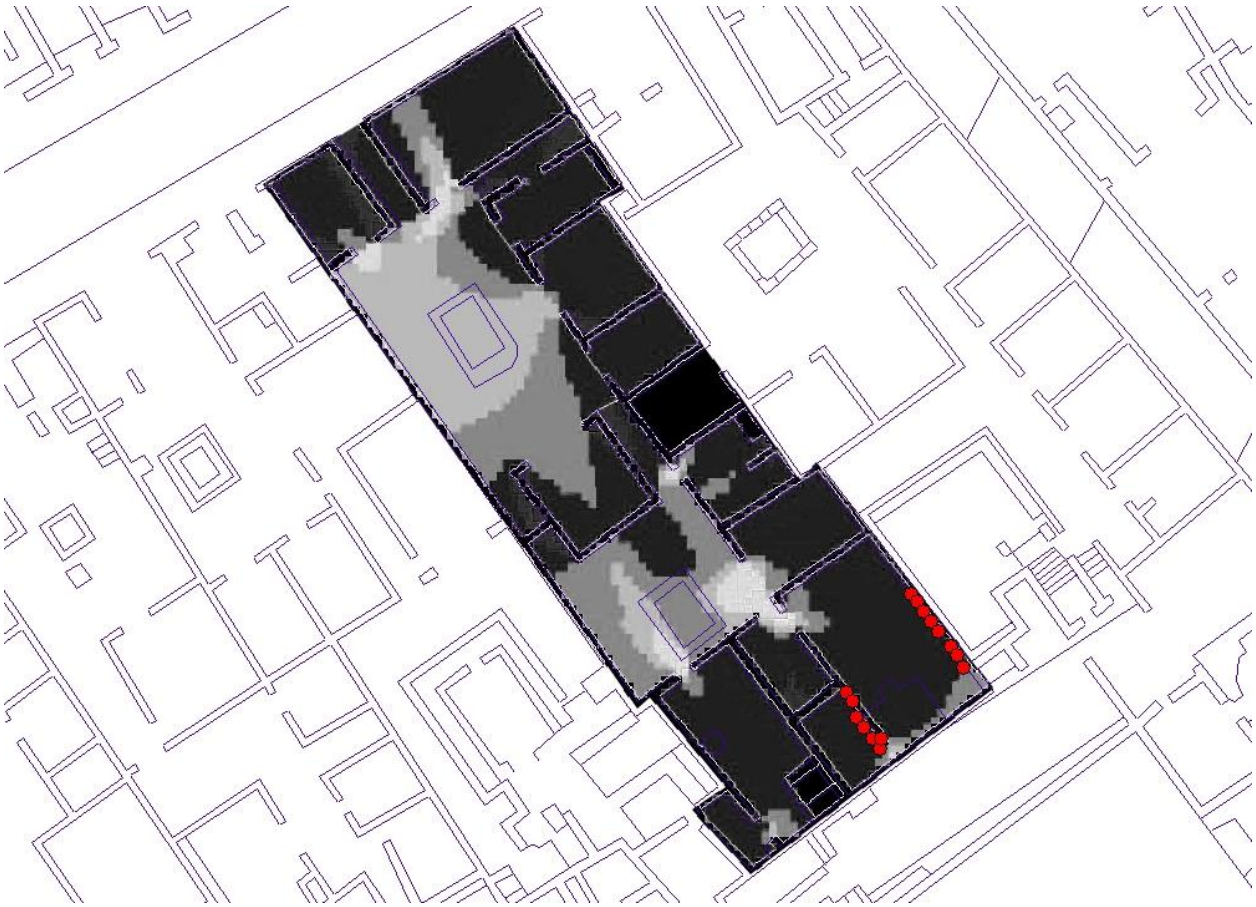


Figure 81: I.6.4; Map of CONTROL, doors closed

Figure 82: I.6.4; Map of CONTROLLABILITY, doors closed

Figure 83: I.6.4; Map of MEAN DEPTH, doors closed

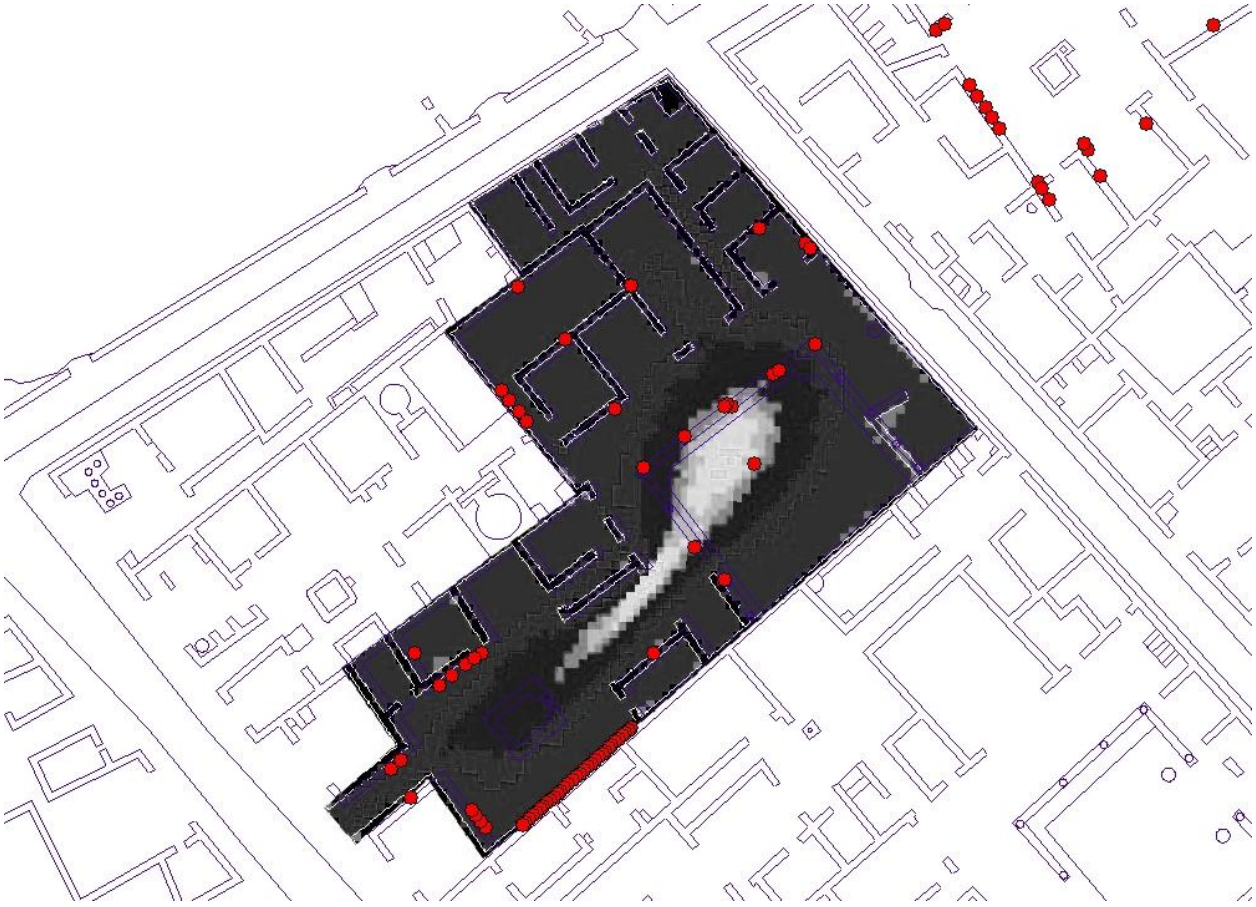


Figure 84: V.1.18, Agent analysis, doors open

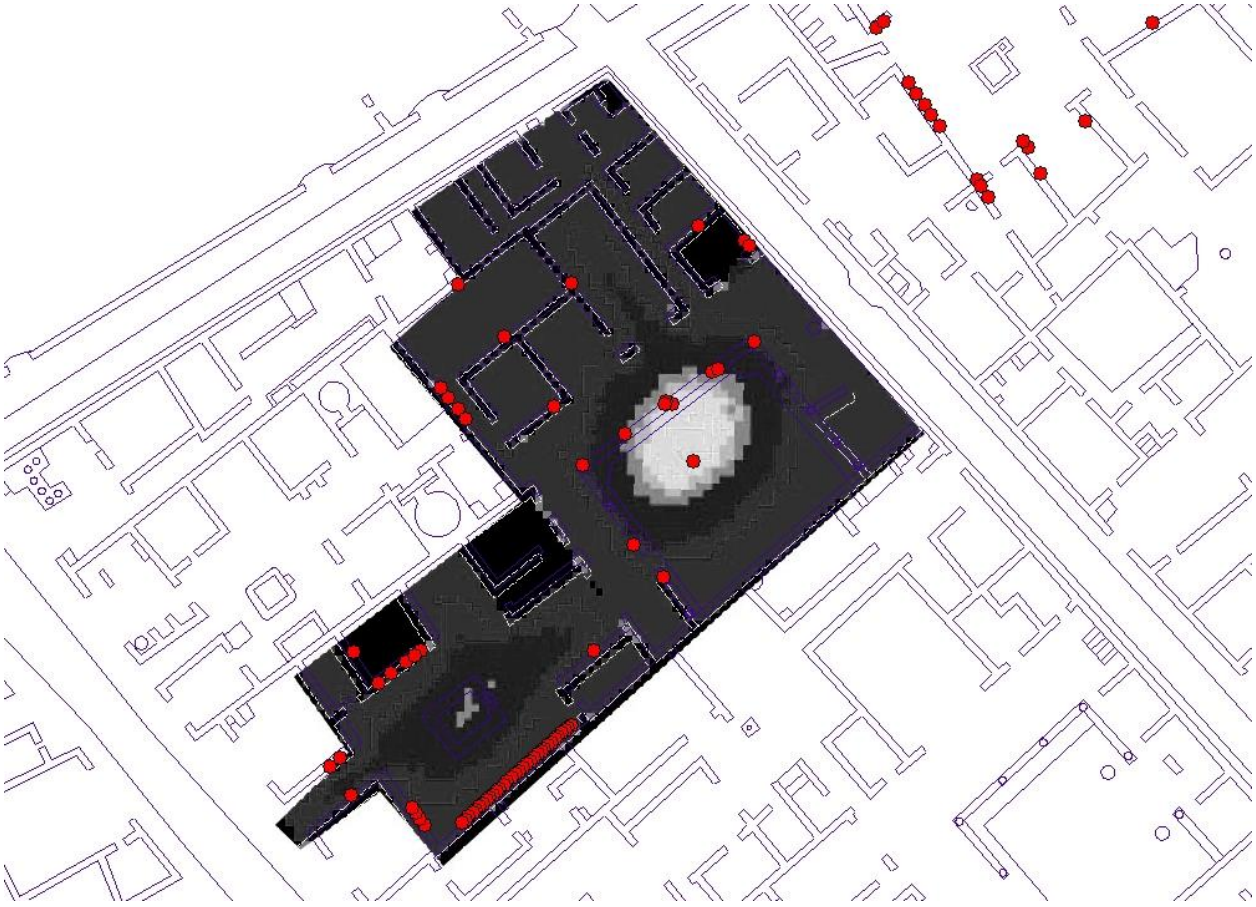


Figure 85: V.1.18, Agent analysis, doors closed

Figure 86: V.1.18, Agent analysis with *impluvium*, doors open

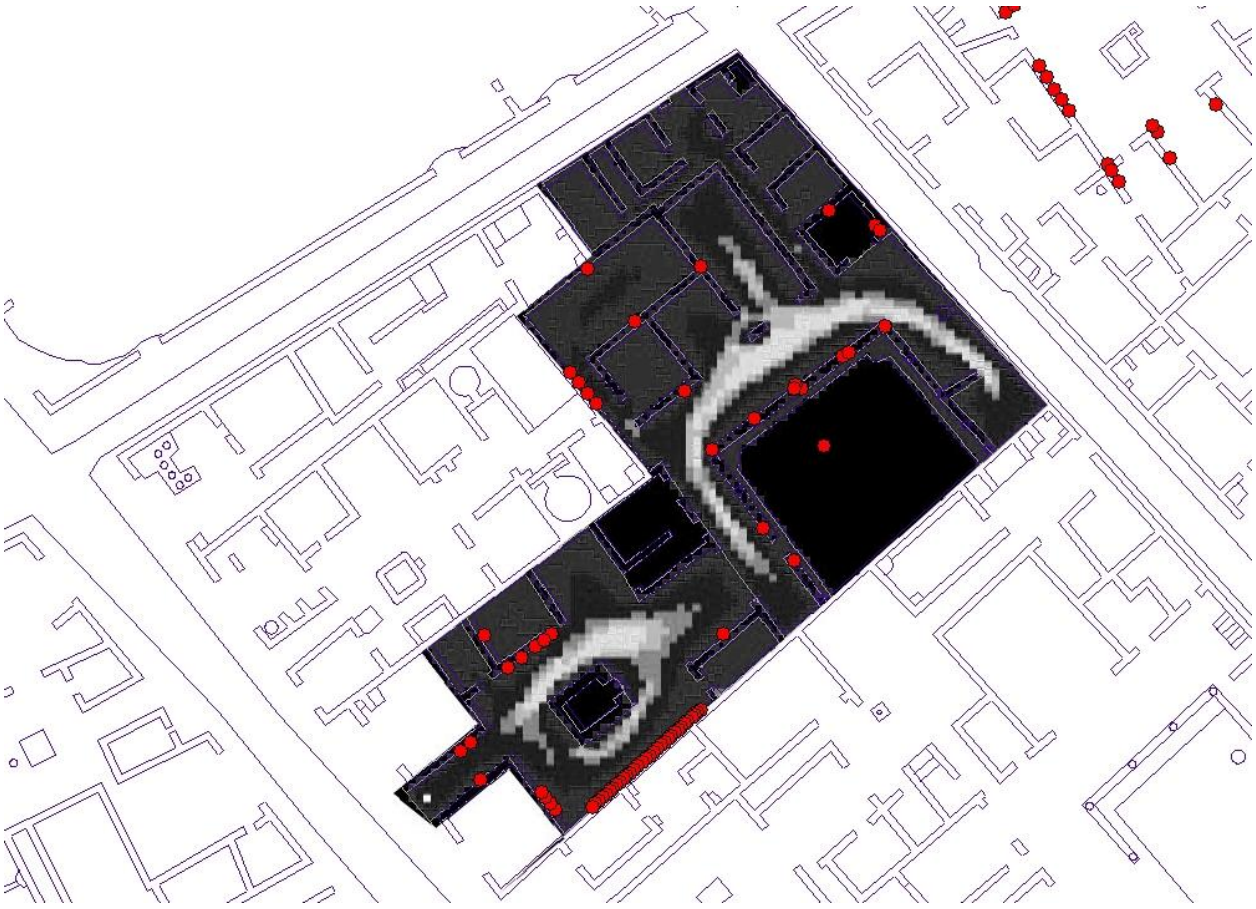


Figure 87: V.1.18, Agent analysis with *impluvium*, doors closed

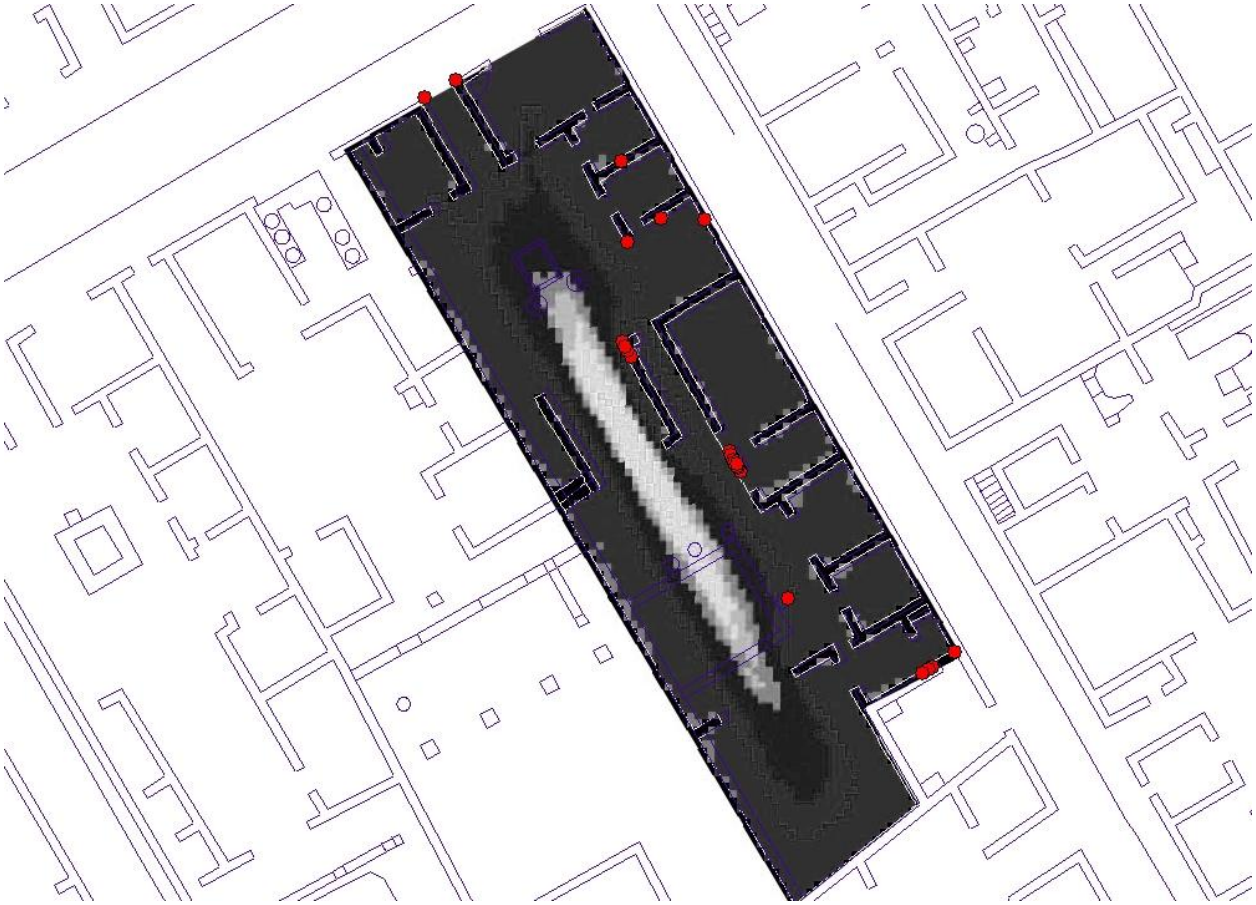


Figure 88: I.9.5, Agent analysis, doors open

Figure 89: I.9.5, Agent analysis with *impluvium*, doors open

Figure 90: VII.11.11, Agent analysis, doors open

Figure 91: VII.11.11, Agent analysis with *impluvium*, doors open

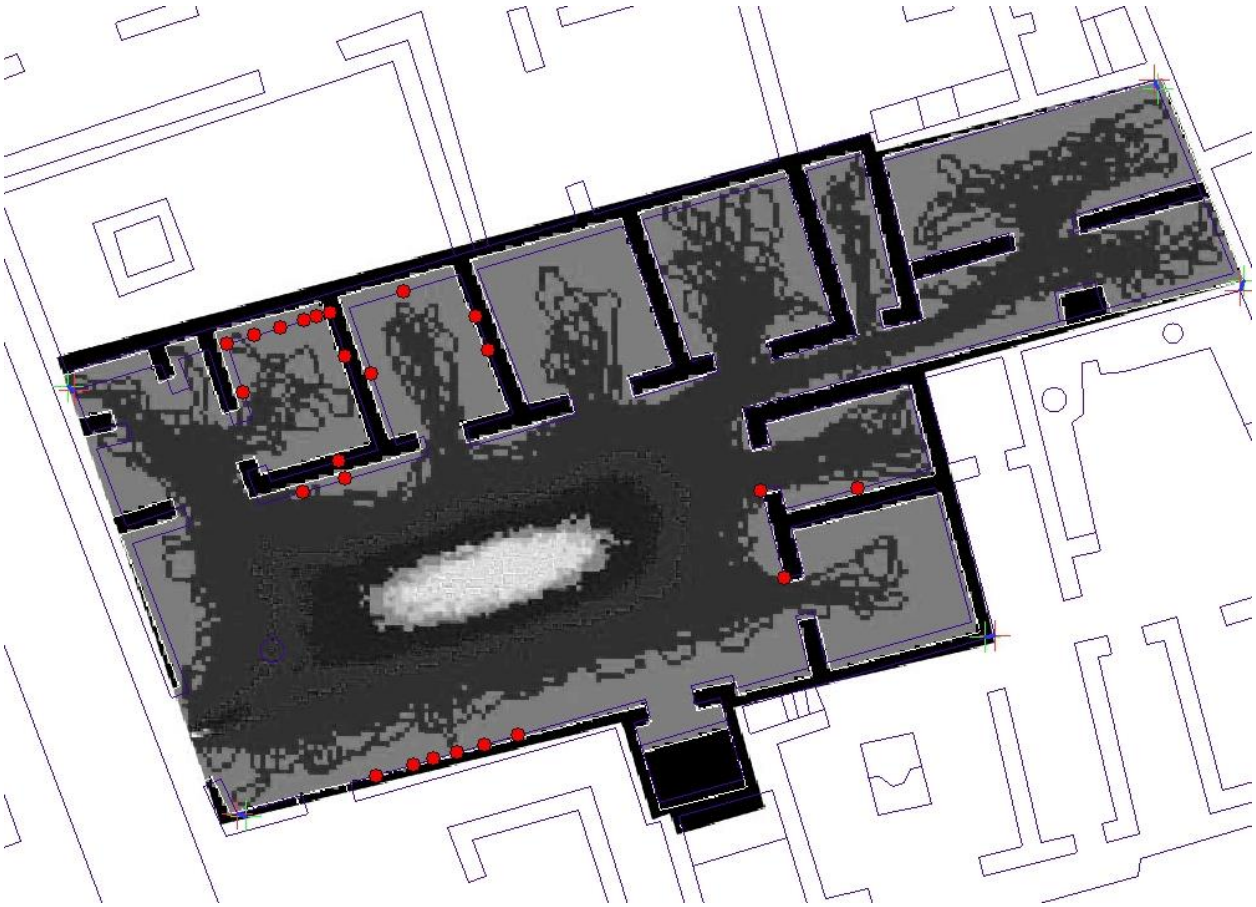


Figure 92: VII.12.35, Agent analysis

Figure 93: V.2.4, Agent analysis, doors open

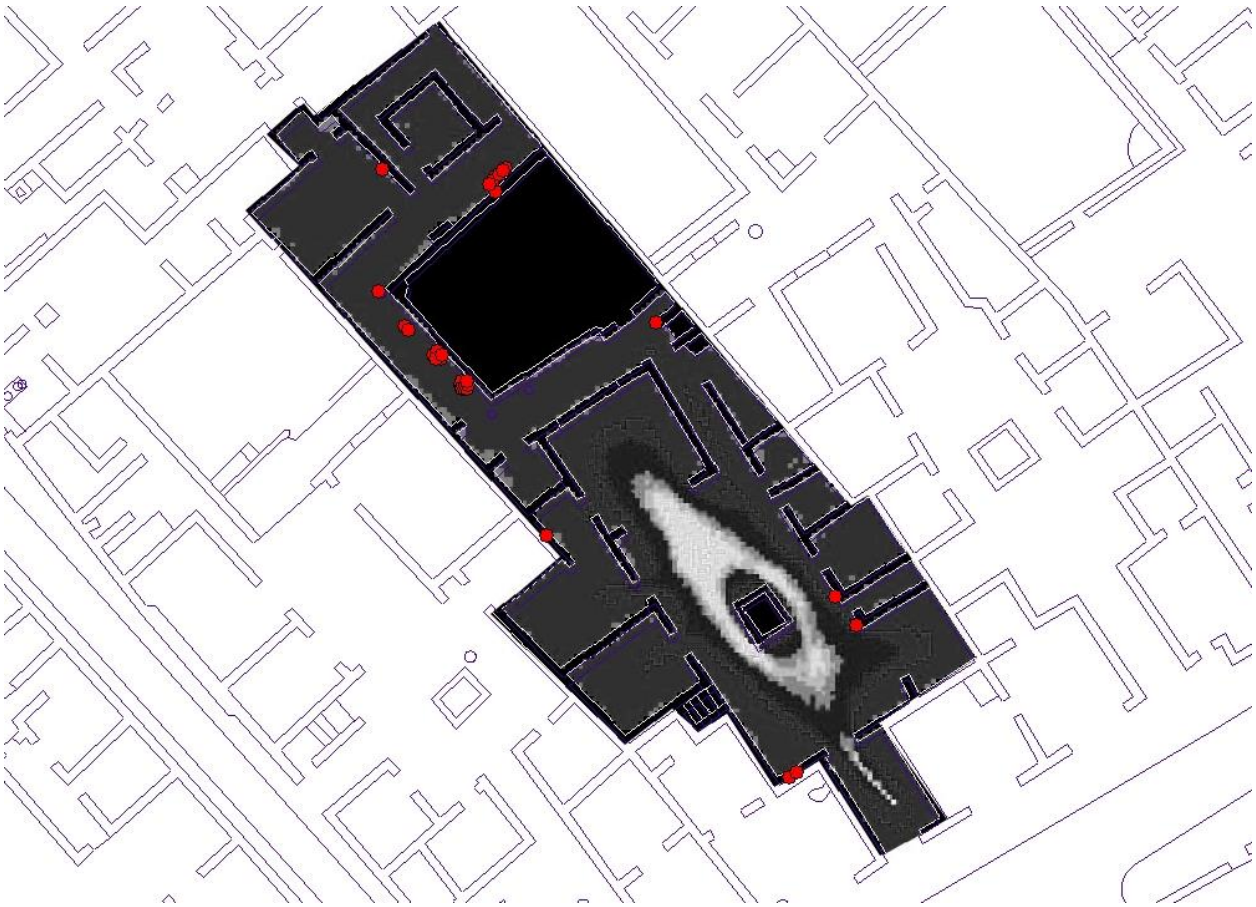


Figure 94: V.2.4, Agent analysis with *impluvium*, doors open

Figure 95: I.6.4, Agent analysis, doors open

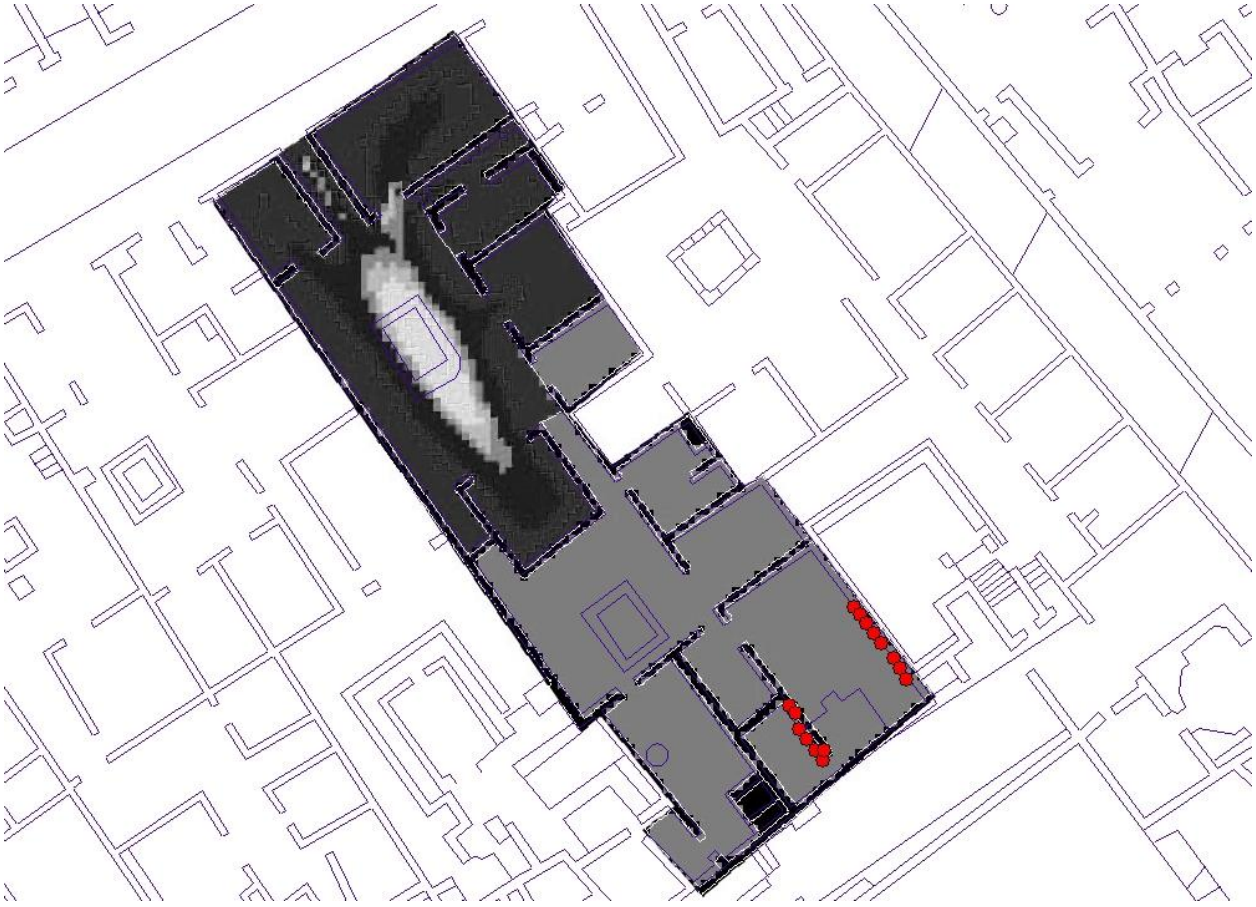


Figure 96: I.6.4, Agent analysis, doors closed

Figure 97: I.6.4, Agent analysis with *impluvium*, doors open

Figure 98: I.6.4 Room 16 (*Oecus)* east wall, positions of graffiti are circled in red, photo by the author

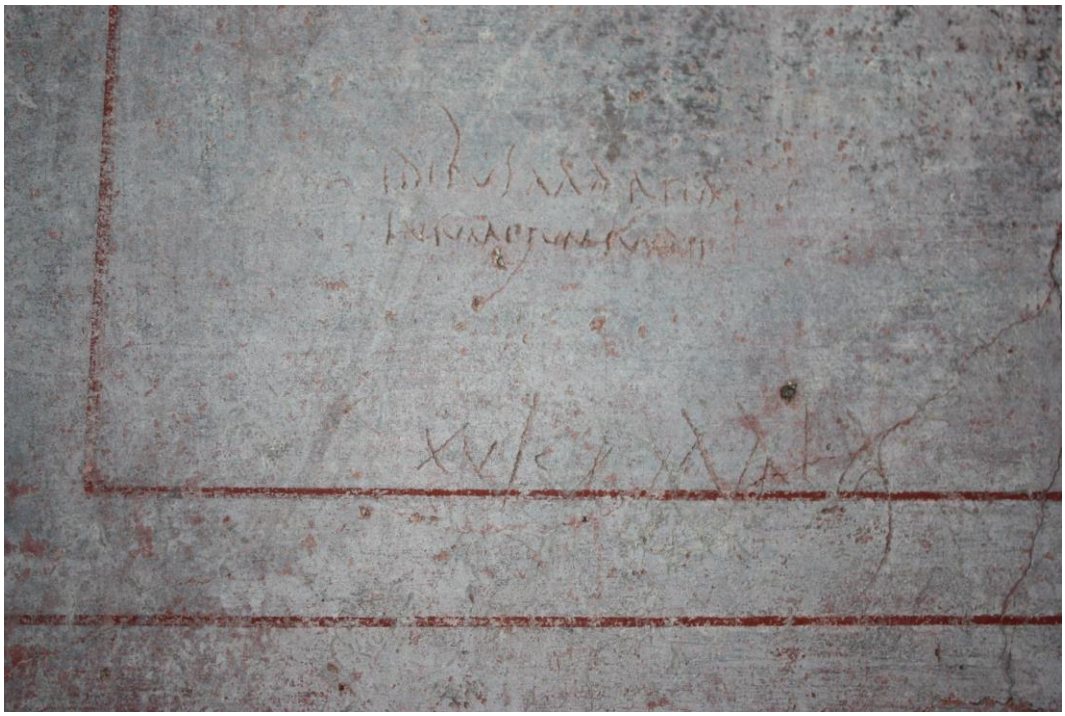


Figure 99: CIL IV 8013 and 8014, close-up, photo by the author

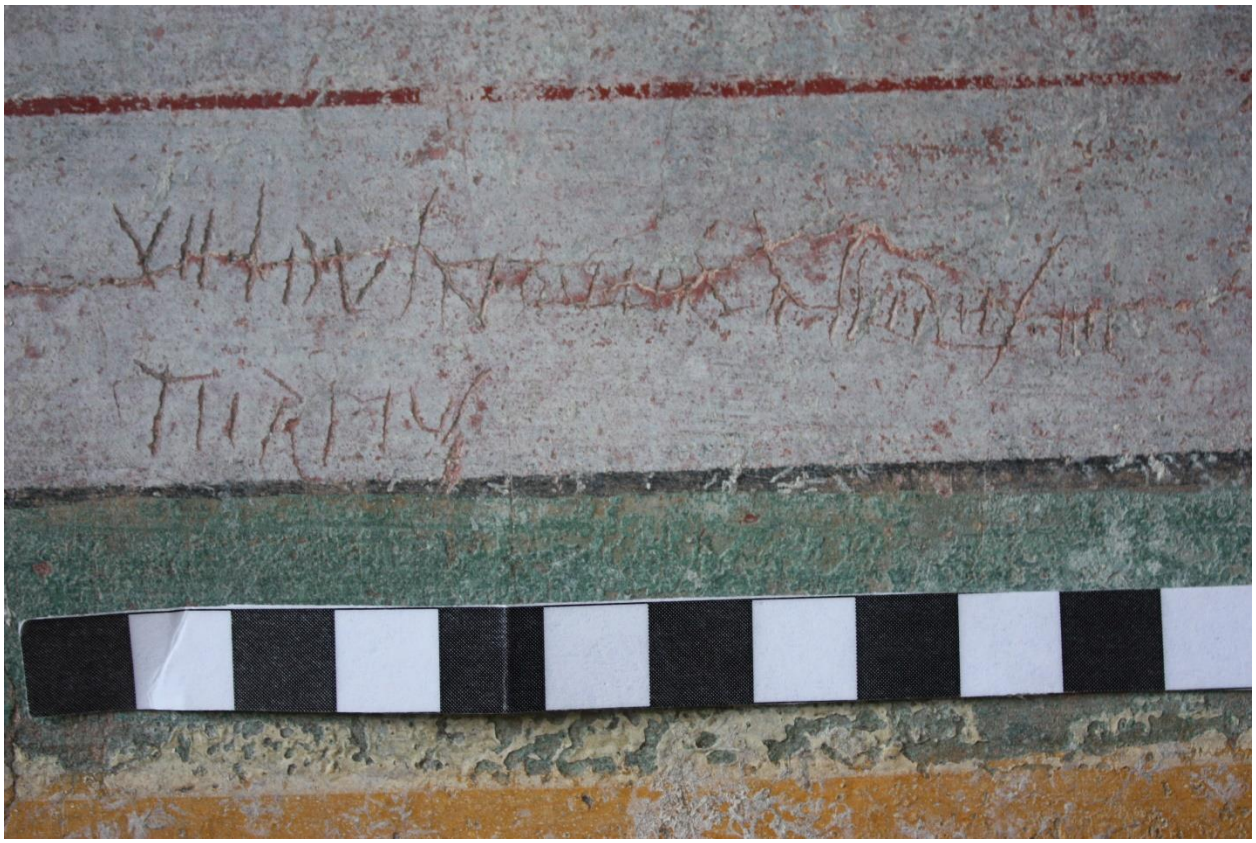


Figure 100: CIL IV 8025, close up, photo by the author

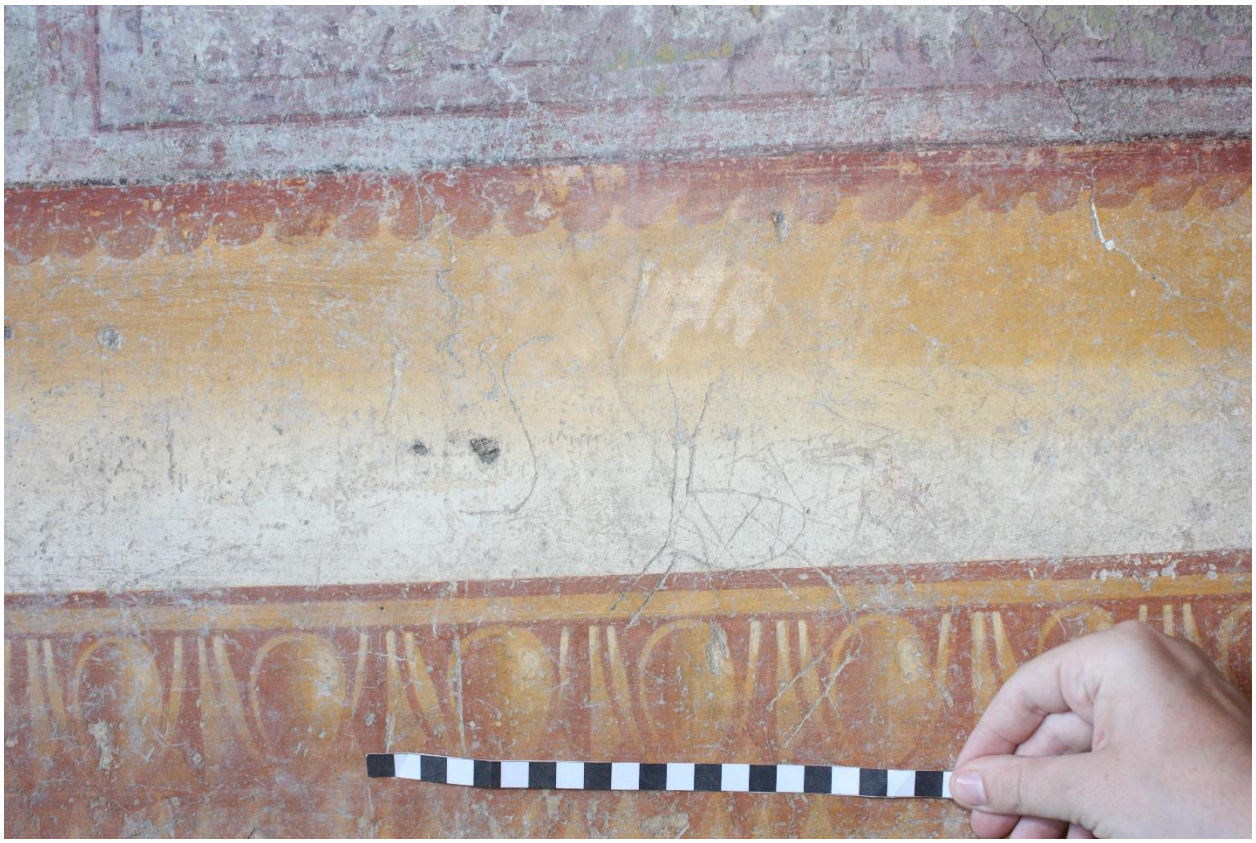


Figure 101: DiBiasie 20, close up, photo by the author

Figure 102: CIL IV 8018, close up, photo by the author

Figure 103: CIL IV 8017, close up, photo by the author

Figure 104: I.6.4 Room 16 (*Oecus)* west wall, positions of graffiti are circled in red, photo by the author

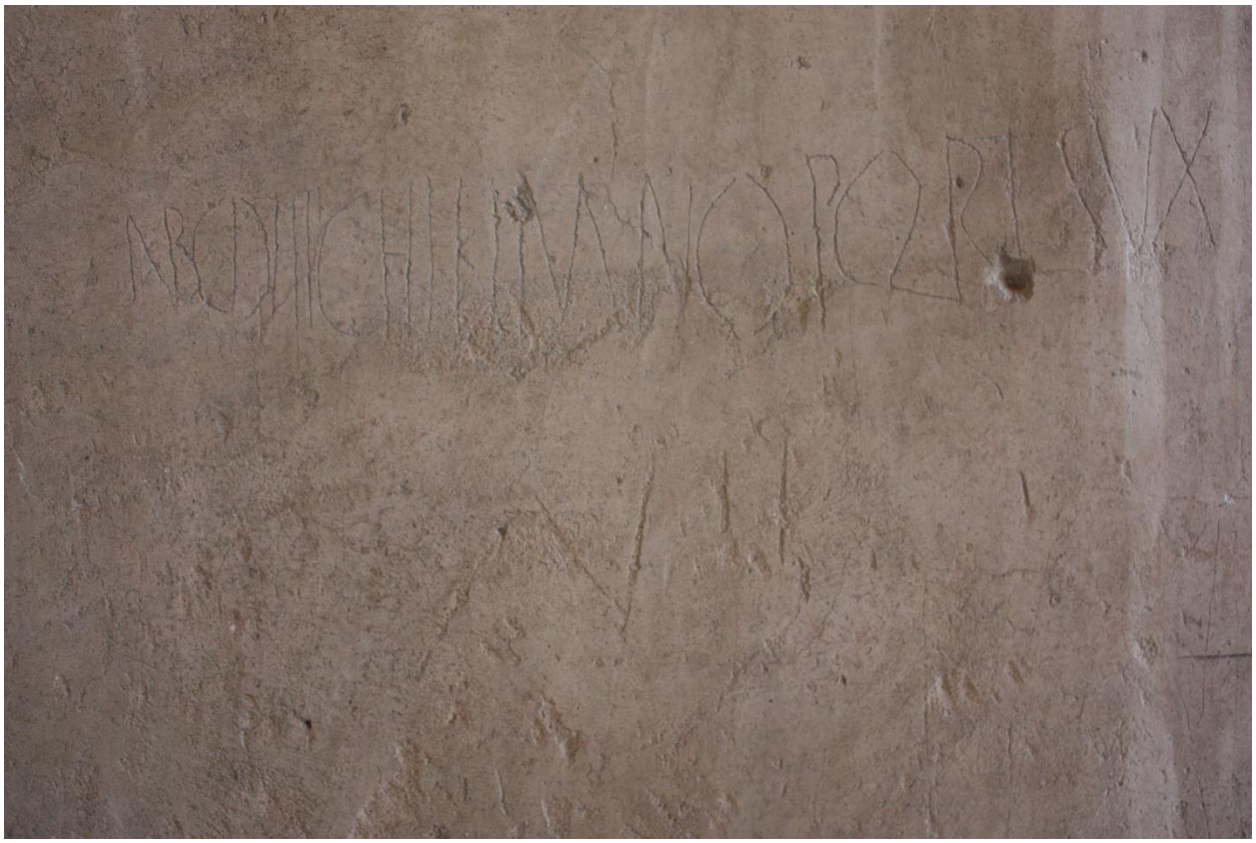


Figure 105: CIL IV 9624

Figure 106: CIL IV 8019, close up, photo by the author

Figure 107: DiBiasie 21, close up, photo by the author

Figure 108: CIL IV 8021, close up with raking light, photo by the author

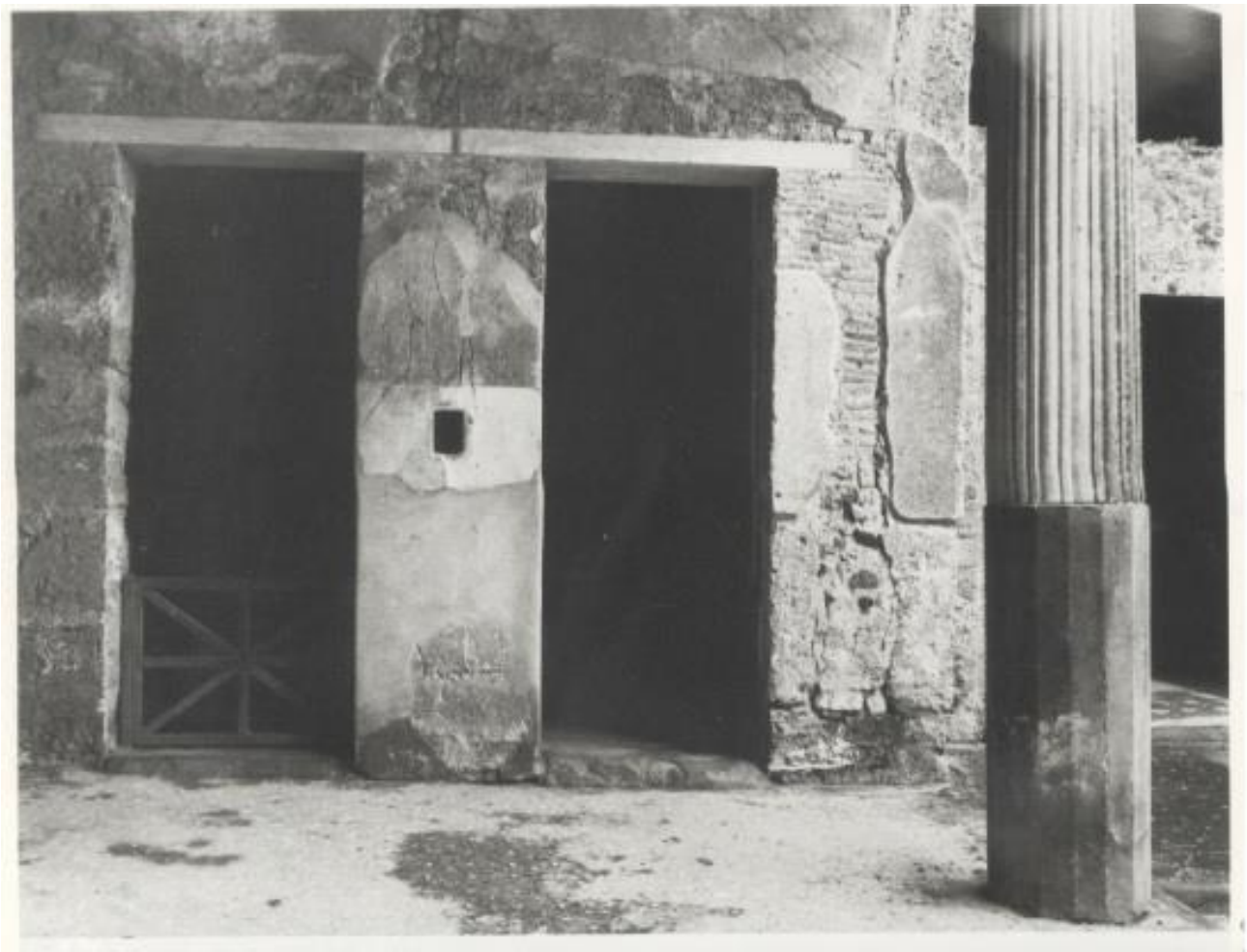


Figure 109: House 1.9.5 mirror from (de Vos 1990b, 44)

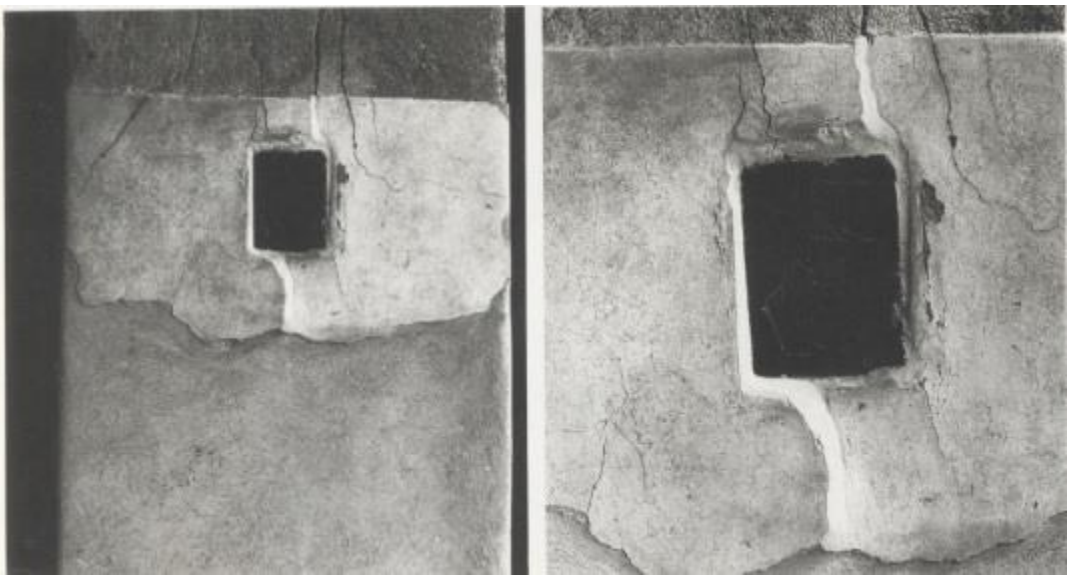


Figure 110: House 1.9.5 mirror from (de Vos 1990b, 44)

Figure 111: CIL IV 8018 and 8019, close up, photo by the author

Figure 112: Pilaster containing CIL IV 4116-4120, photo by the author

Figure 113: V.2.4; GIS map of graffiti; purple graffiti mention Crescens

Figure 114: V.2.4 columns, photo by the author

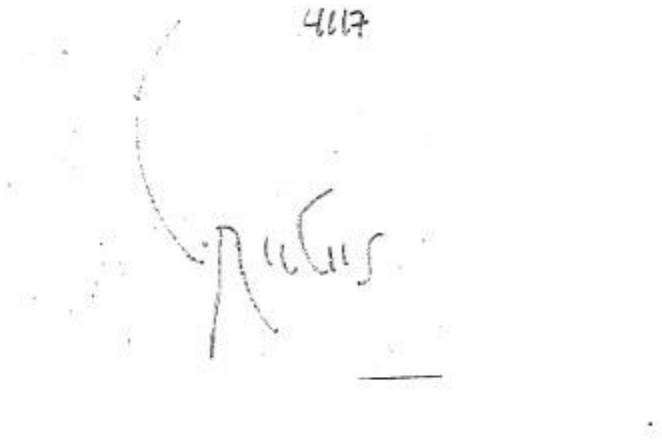


Figure 115: CIL IV 4117, line drawing by the author

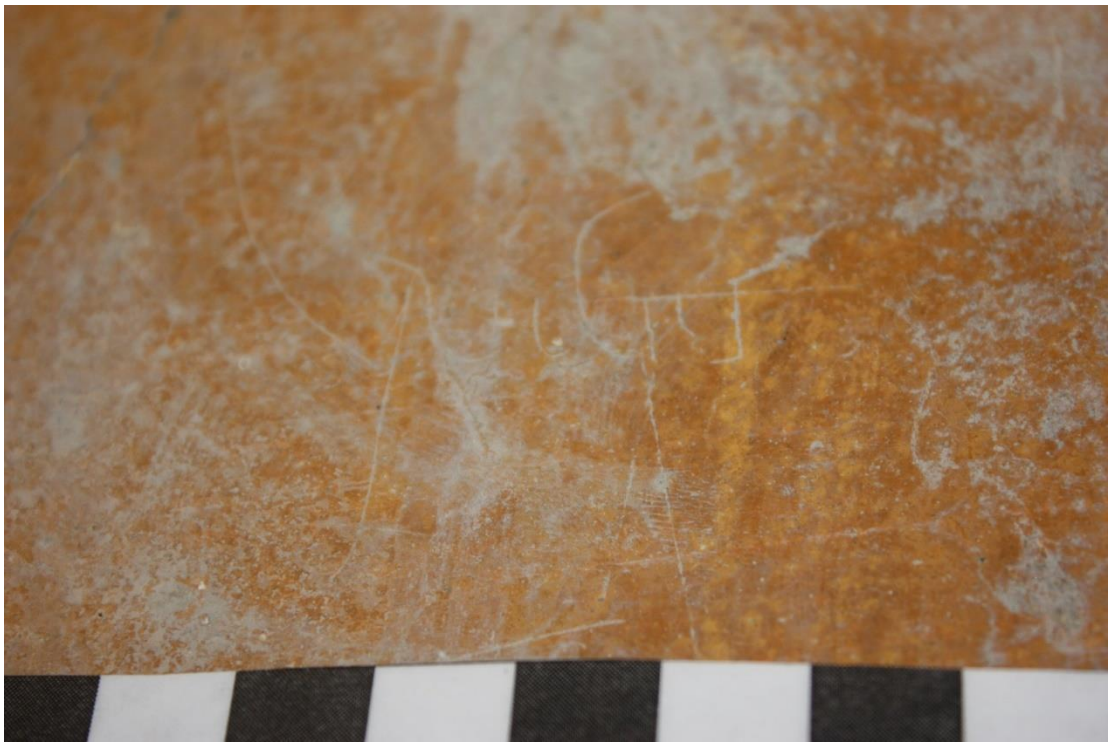


Figure 116: CIL IV 4117, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 117: column on which CIL IV 4117 is located, photograph by the author

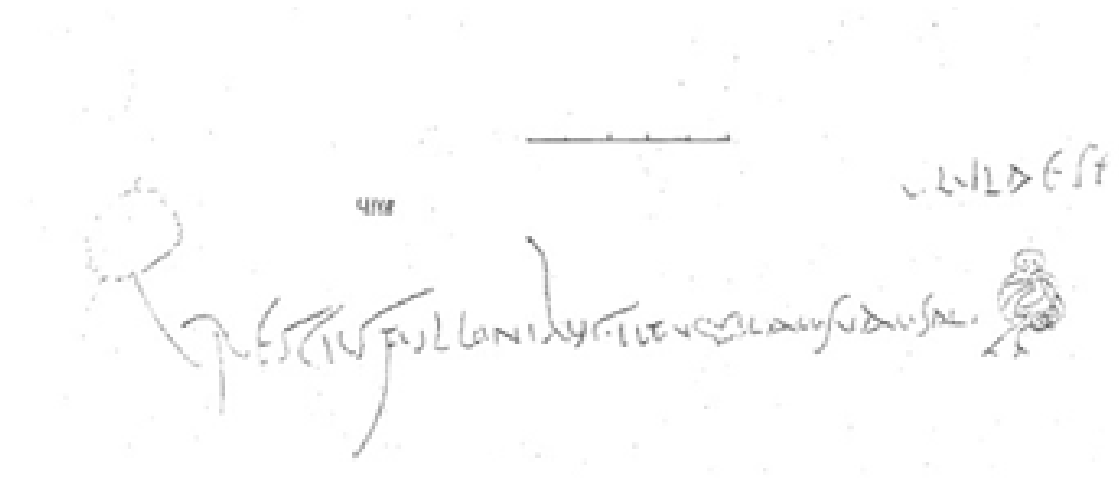


Figure 118: CIL IV 4118, line drawing by the author

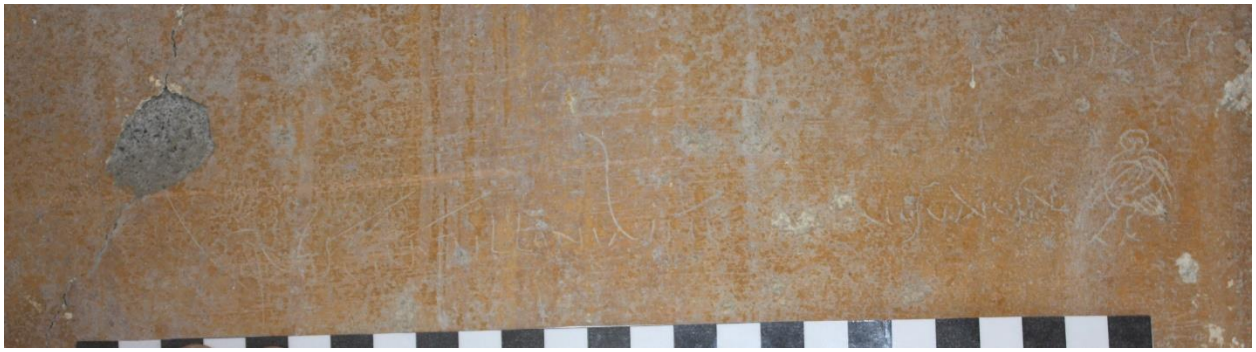


Figure 119: CIL IV 4118, photograph by the author

Figure 120: CIL IV 4118, photograph by the author

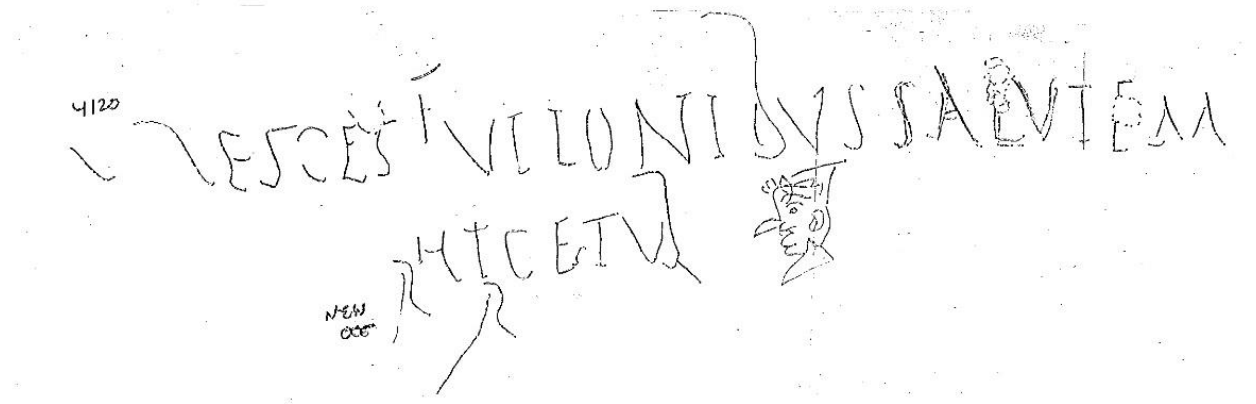


Figure 121: CIL IV 4120 and DiBiasie 005, line drawing by the author

Figure 122: CIL IV 4120 and DiBiasie 05, photograph by the author

Figure 123: Langner n. 476, photograph by the author

Figure 124: CIL IV 4120/ Langner n. 254, photograph by the author

Figure 125: CIL IV 4116, line drawing by the author

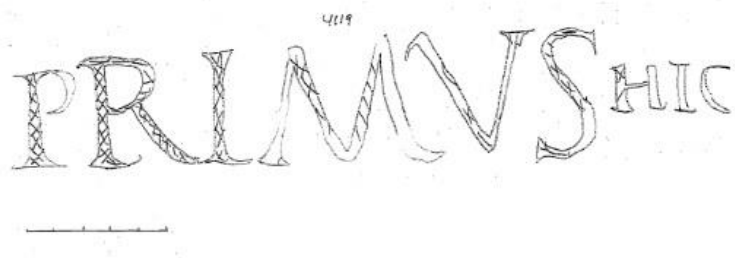


Figure 126: CIL IV 4119, line drawing by the author

Figure 127: CIL IV 4119, photograph by the author

Figure 128: CIL IV 4119, 4120 and DiBiasie 05, photograph by the author

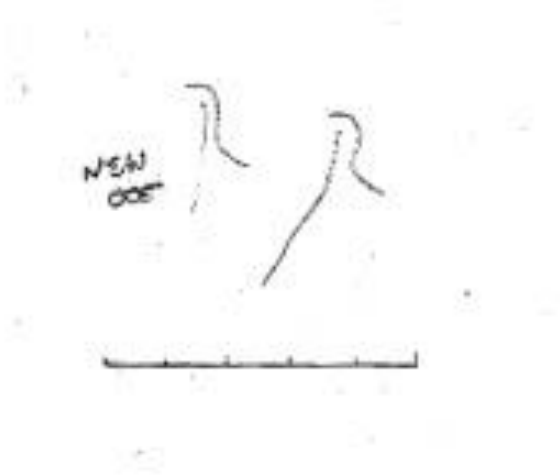


Figure 129: DiBiasie 05, line drawing by the author

Figure 130: CIL IV 4119, 4120, 4121, and DiBiasie 05, photograph by the author

Figure 131: CIL IV 4121, line drawing by the author

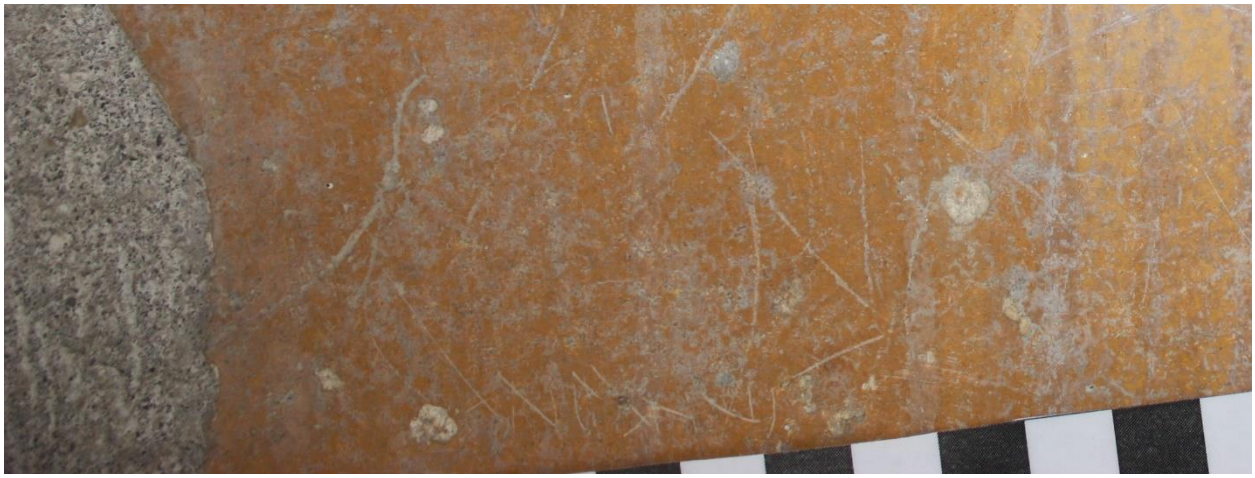


Figure 132: CIL IV 4121, photograph by the author

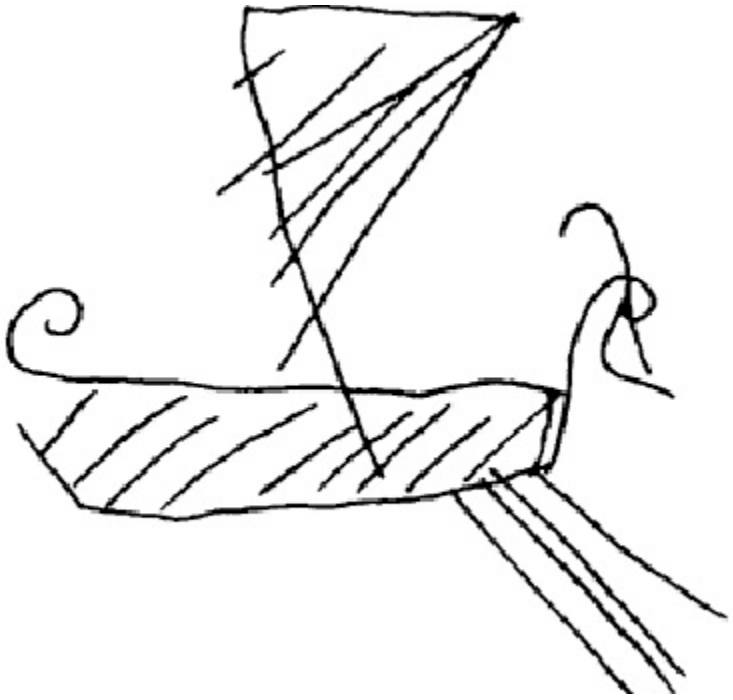


Figure 133: Langner 2046 from (Langner 2001)

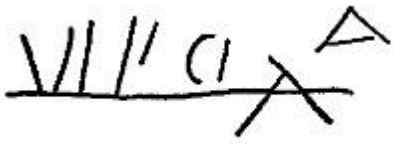


Figure 134: CIL IV 9995, from (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970)

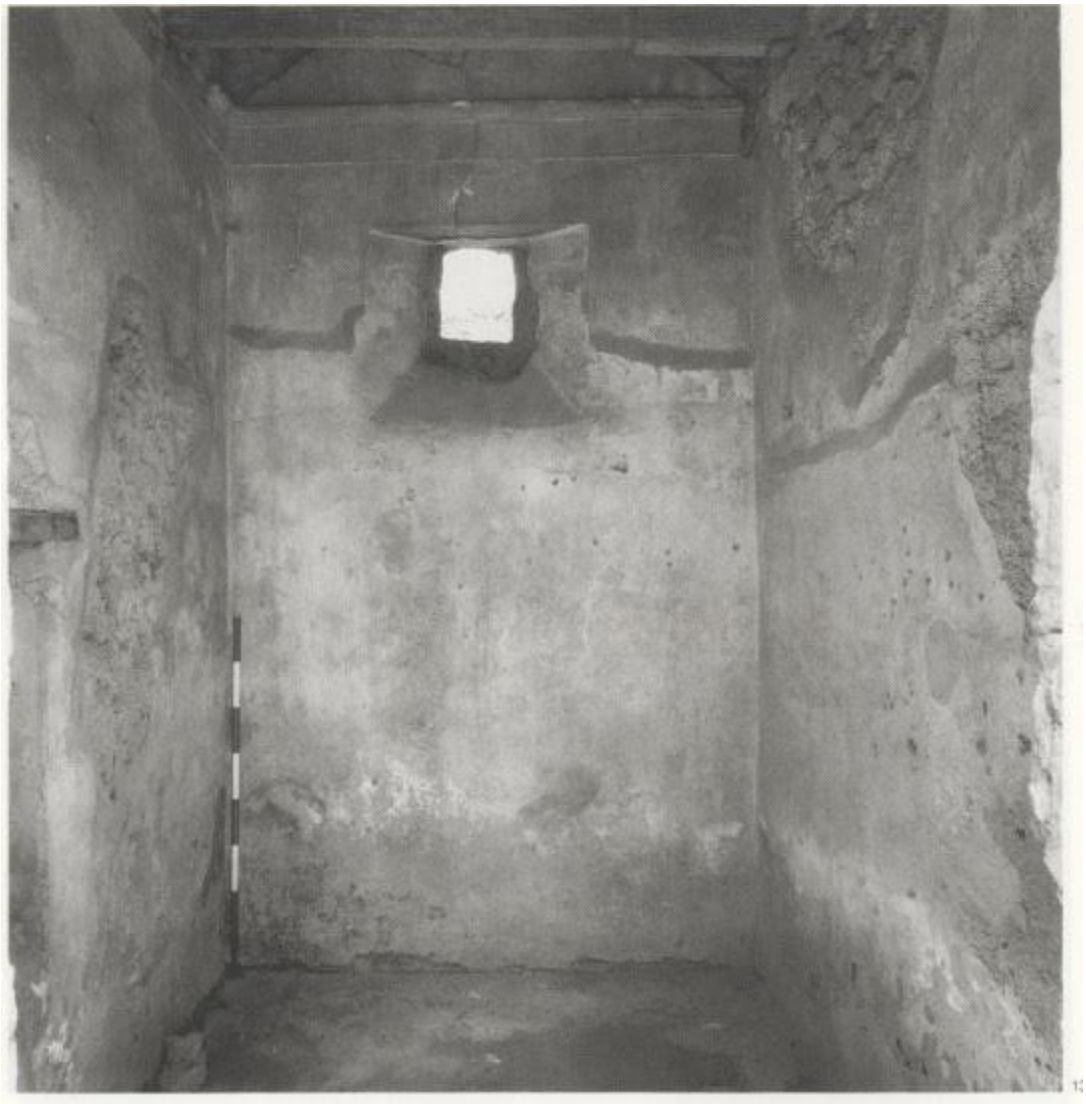


Figure 135: CIL IV 9996, from (de Vos 1990b, 10)

Figure 136: CIL IV 9998 (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970)

Figure 137: CIL IV 9999 (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970)

Figure 138: CIL IV 10001 (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970)

Figure 139: CIL IV 10002 (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970)

Figure 140: I.9.5 pilaster from (de Vos 1990b, 45)

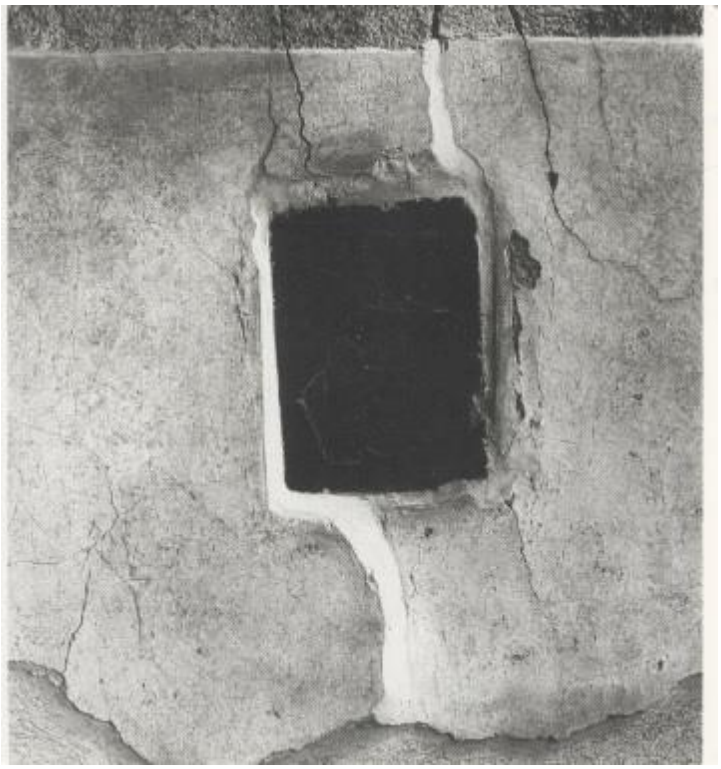


Figure 141: I.9.5 mirror from (de Vos 1990b, 45)

Figure 142: CIL IV 10005 from (de Vos 1990b, 45)

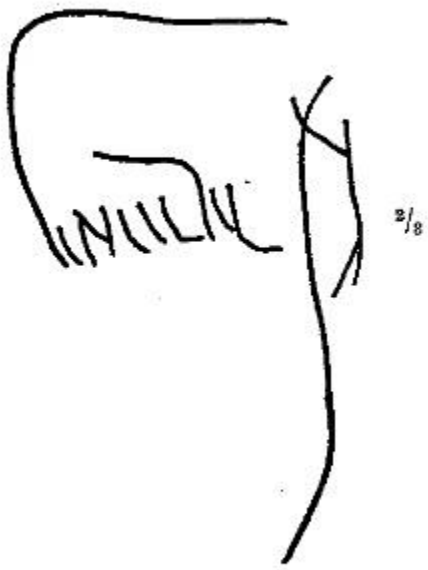


Figure 143: CIL IV 10006 (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970)

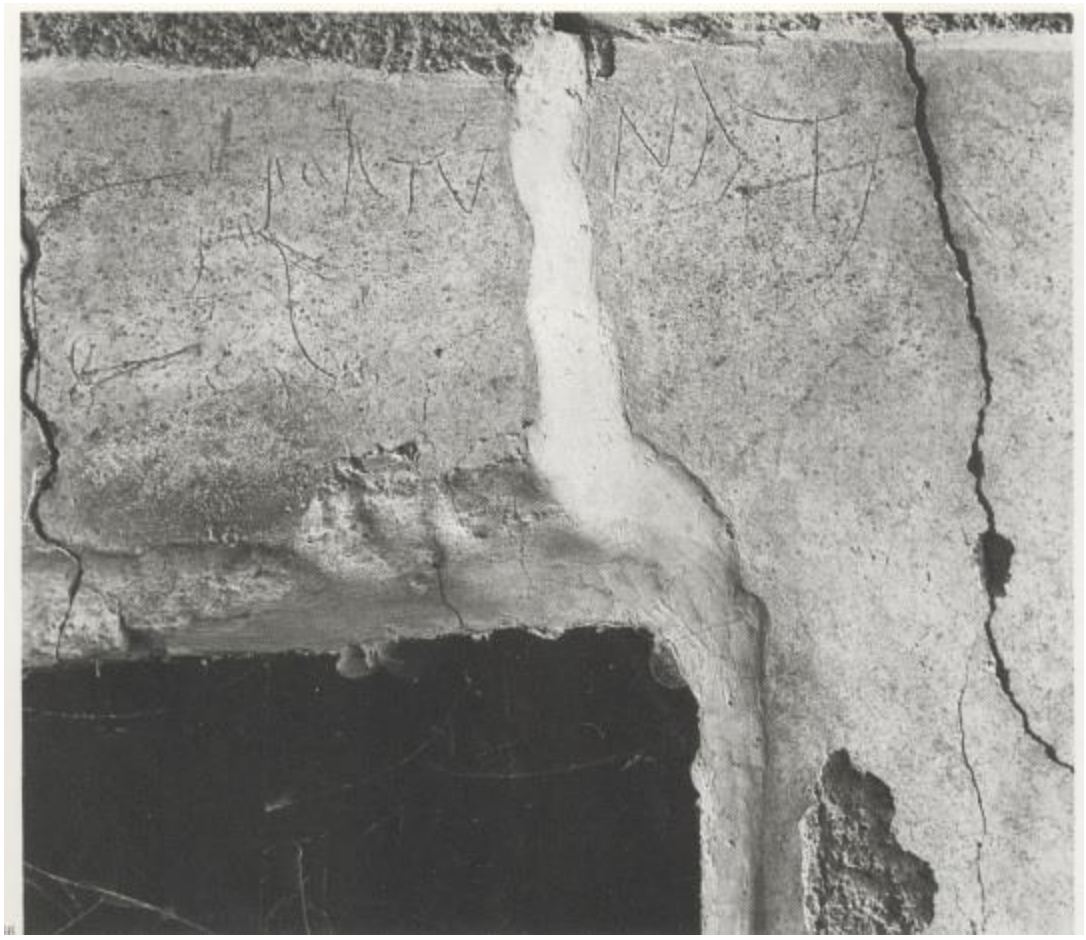


Figure 144: CIL IV 10005 (de Vos 1990b, 45)

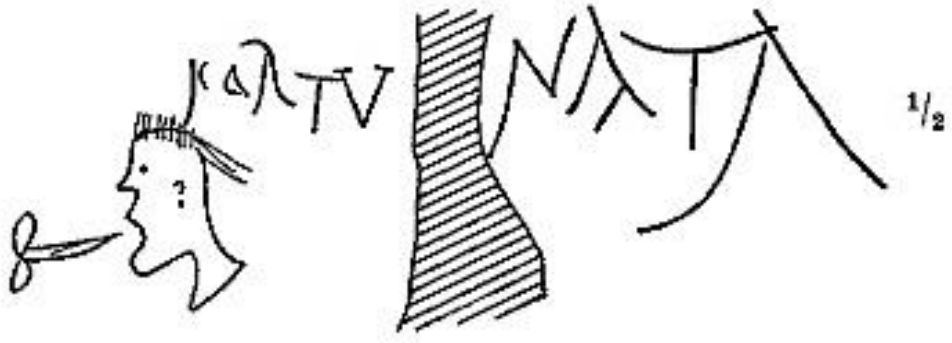


Figure 145: CIL IV 10005 from (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970)

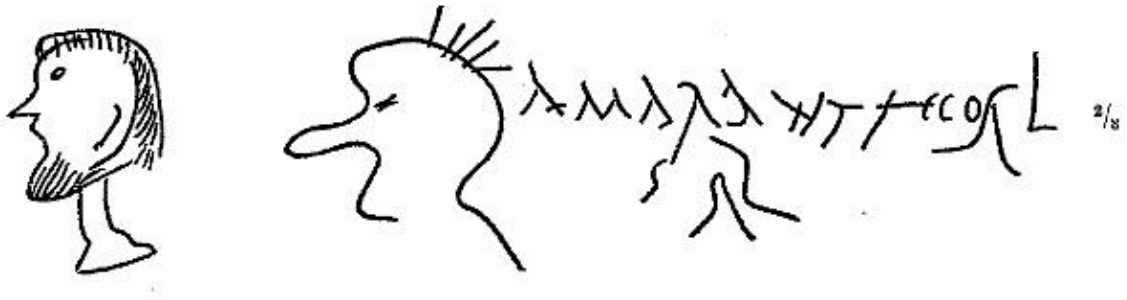


Figure 146: CIL IV 10008 from (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970)

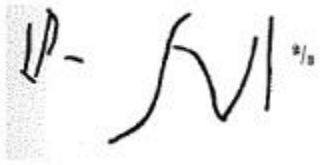


Figure 147: CIL IV 10009b from (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970)

Figure 148: CIL IV 10009c from (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970)

Figure 149: CIL IV 10019 height from ground, photograph by the author

Figure 150: CIL IV 10019 close up, photograph by the author

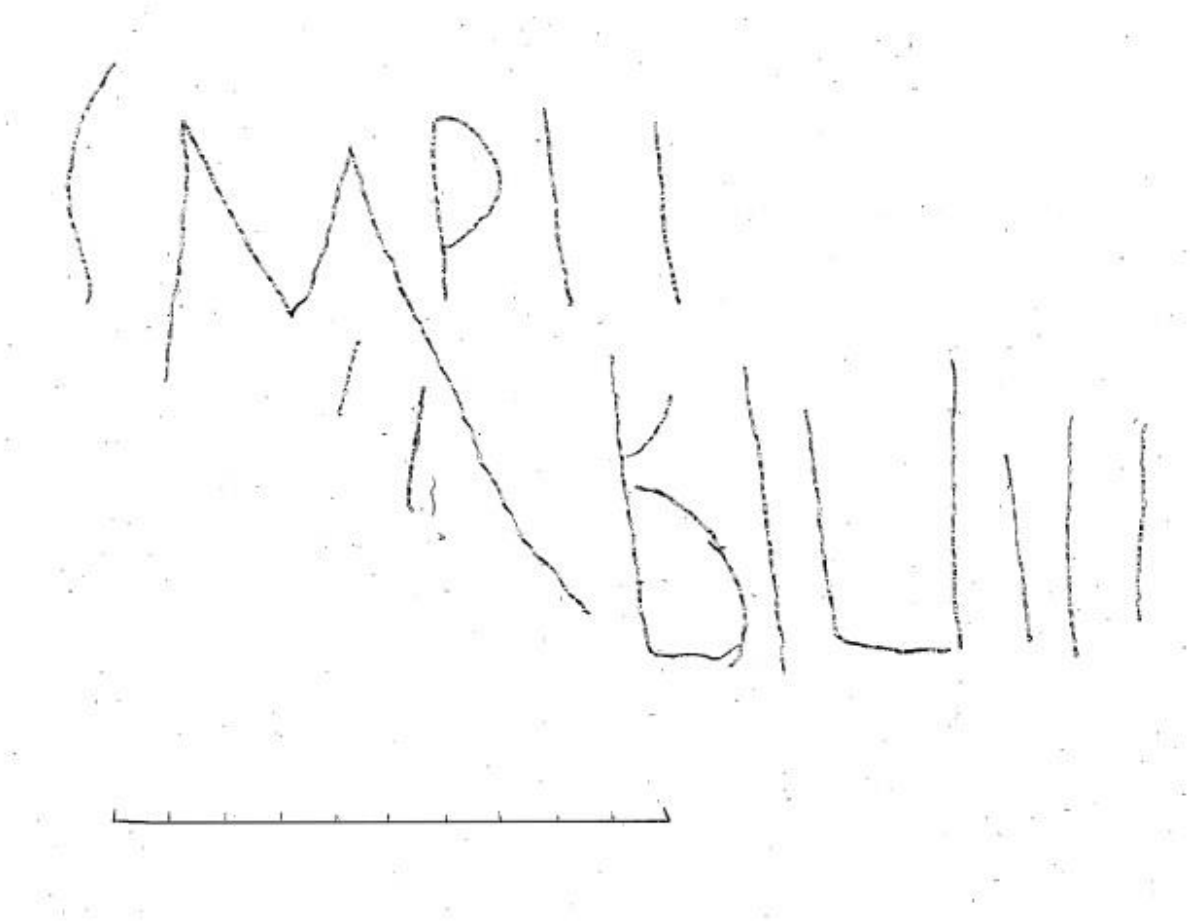


Figure 151: CIL IV 10019, line drawing by the author

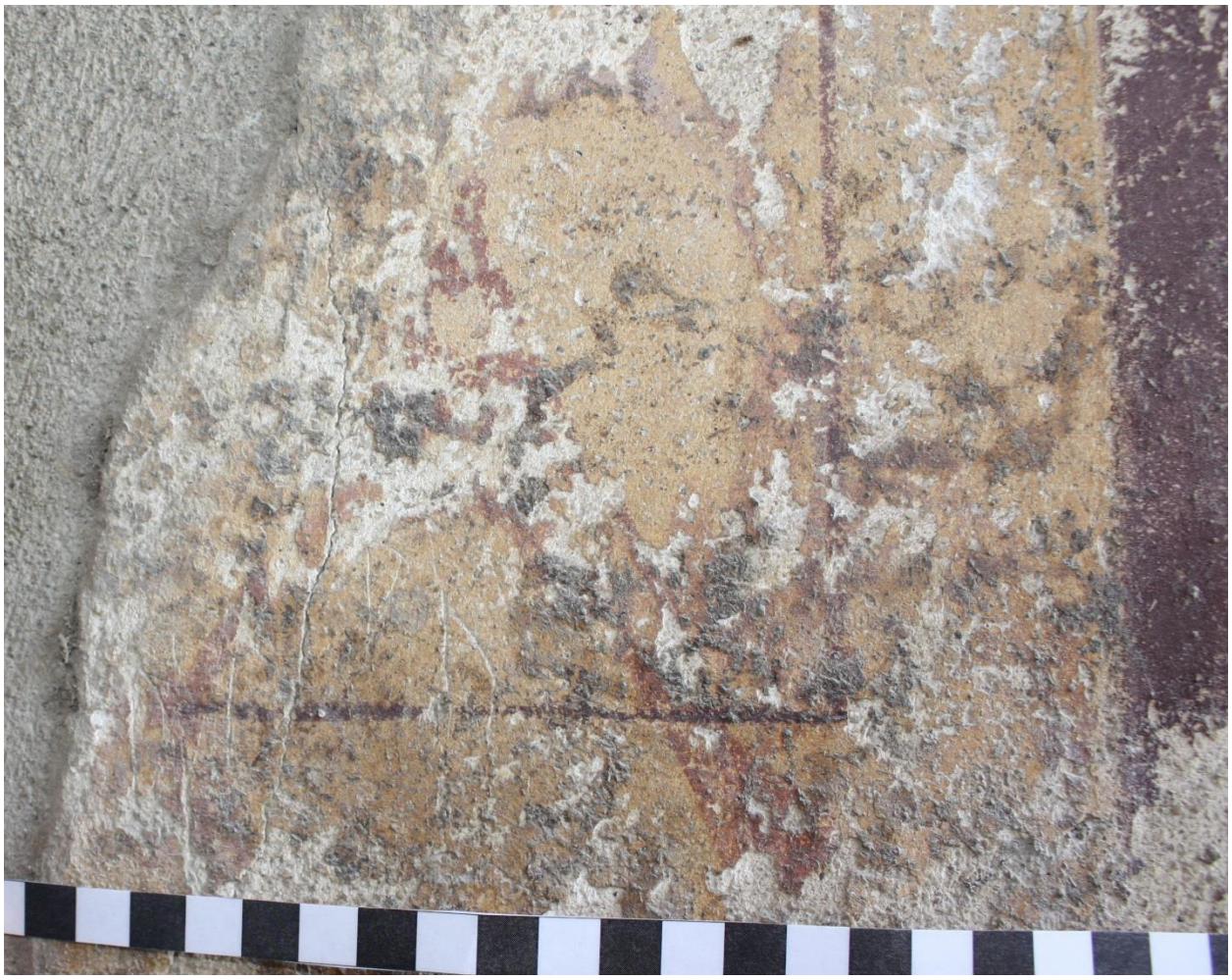


Figure 152: CIL IV 10020, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 153: CIL IV 10020 from the ground, photograph by the author

Figure 154: CIL IV 10020, line drawing by the author

Figure 155: I.9.13, Room 8 from (de Vos 1990b, 191)

Figure 156: CIL IV 10021, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 157: CIL IV 10021 from the ground, photograph by the author

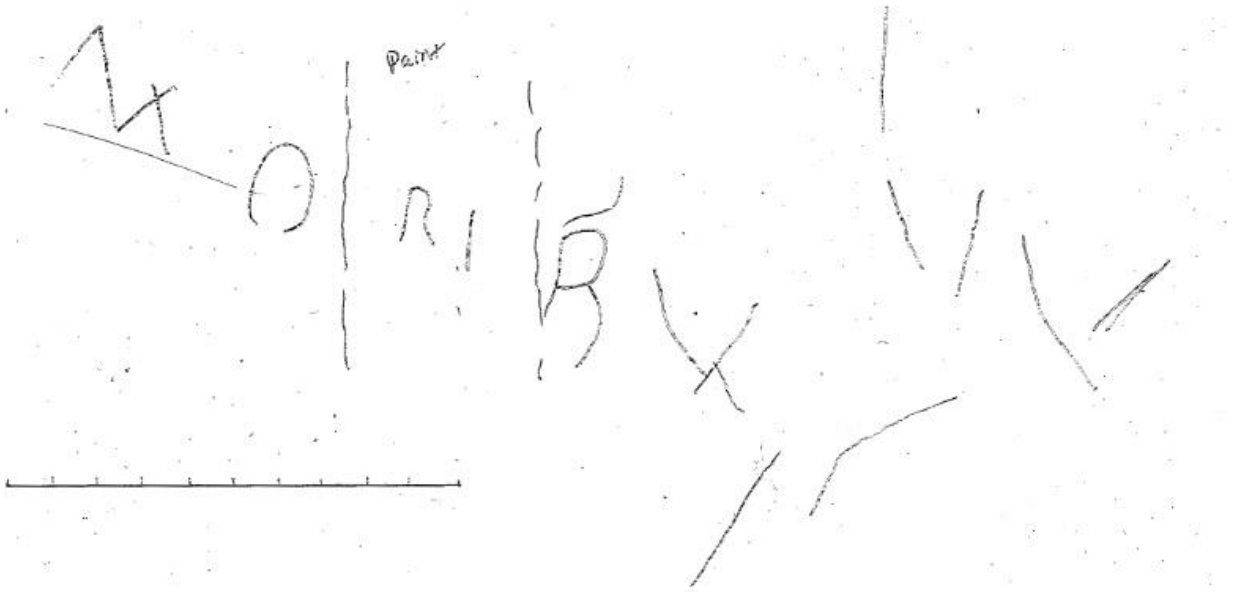


Figure 158: CIL IV 10021, line drawing by the author

Figure 159: I.9.13 *atrium*, photograph by the author

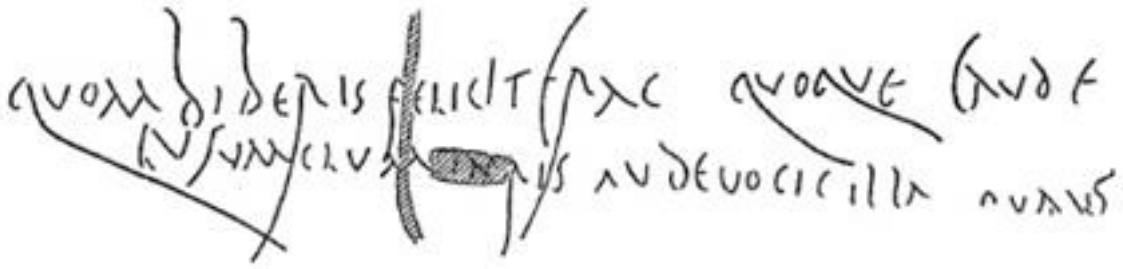


Figure 160: CIL IV 10024 from (Ciprotti, P., Della Corte, M., and Weber, F. 1970)

Figure 161: I.9.13, Room 16, photograph copyright of Jackie and Bob Dunn, poimpeiinpictures.com

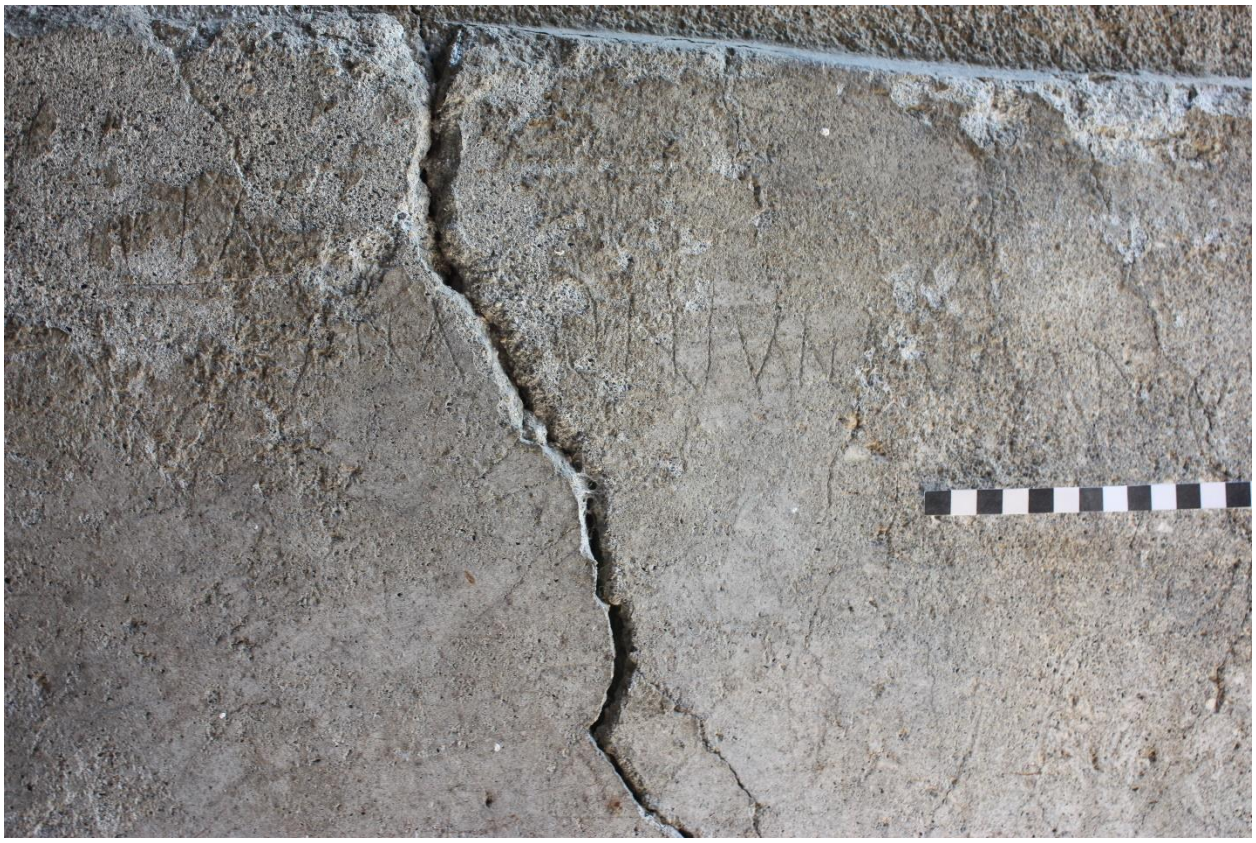


Figure 162: CIL IV 10027, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 163: CIL IV 10027 from the ground, photograph by the author

Figure 164: I.9.13 *tablinum,* from (de Vos 1990c, 223)

Figure 165: I.9.13 *tablinum,* from (de Vos 1990c, 223)

Figure 166: V.4.a, *vestibulum*, photograph by the author

Figure 167: V.4.a, back door, photograph by the author

Figure 168: CIL IV 6802 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

Figure 169: CIL IV 6803, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 170: CIL IV 6803 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

Figure 171: V.4.a, *atrium*, photograph by the author

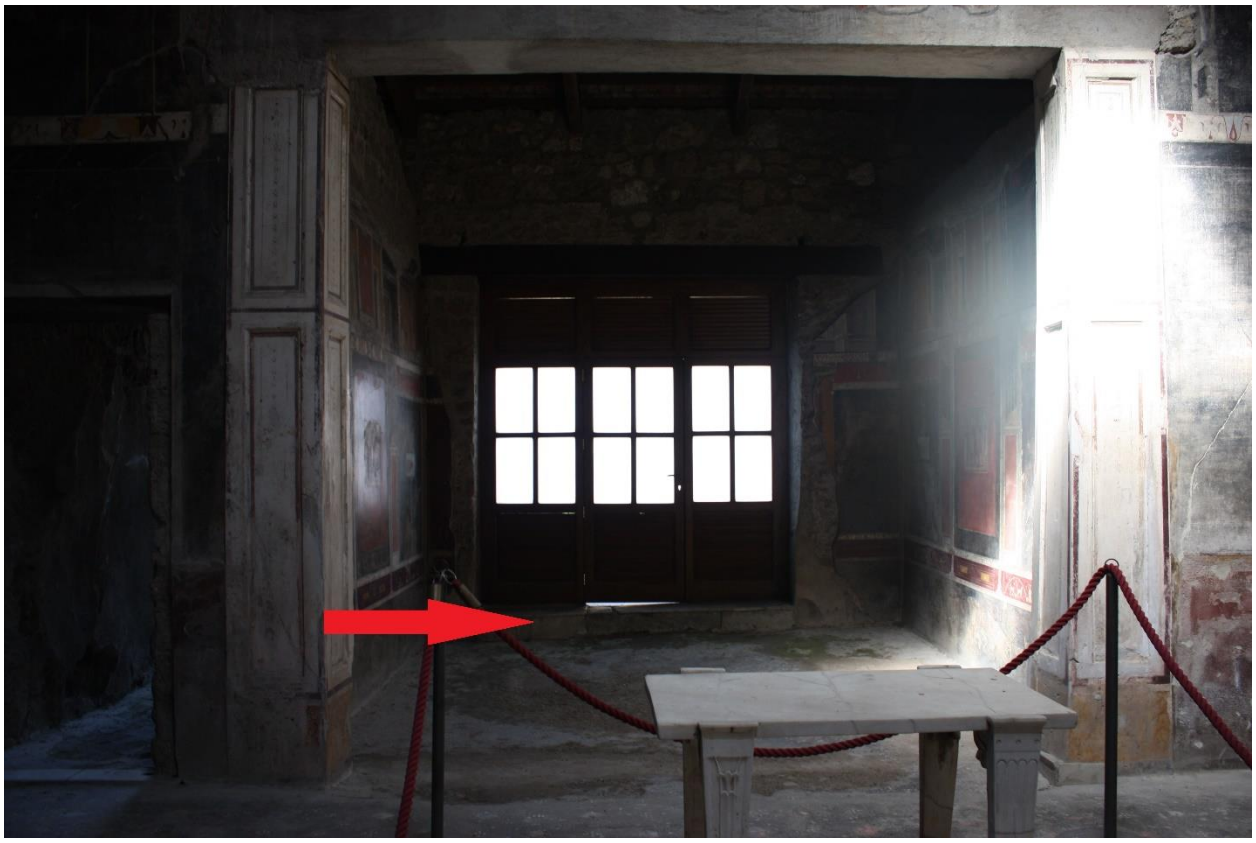


Figure 172: V.4.a, *tablinum* with arrow indicating threshold, photograph by the author

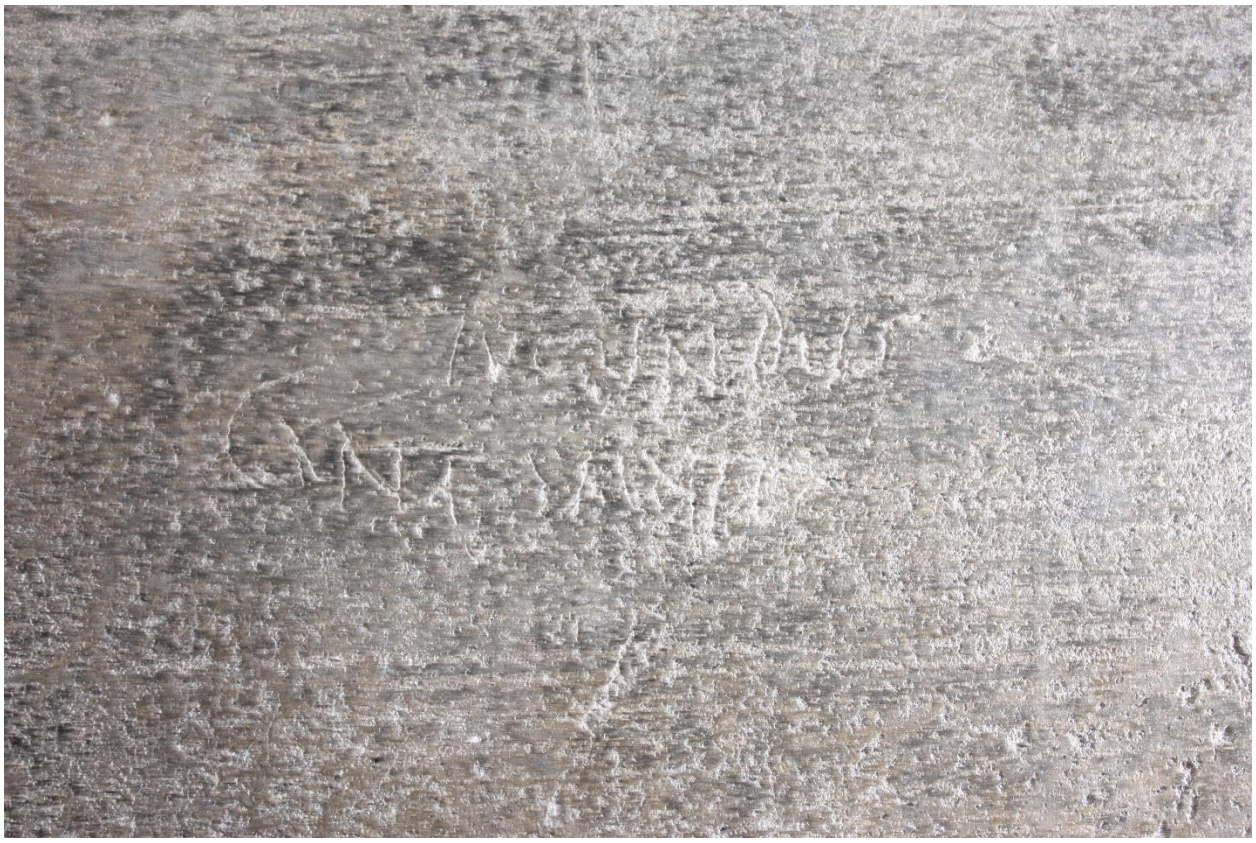


Figure 173: CIL IV 6786, photograph by the author

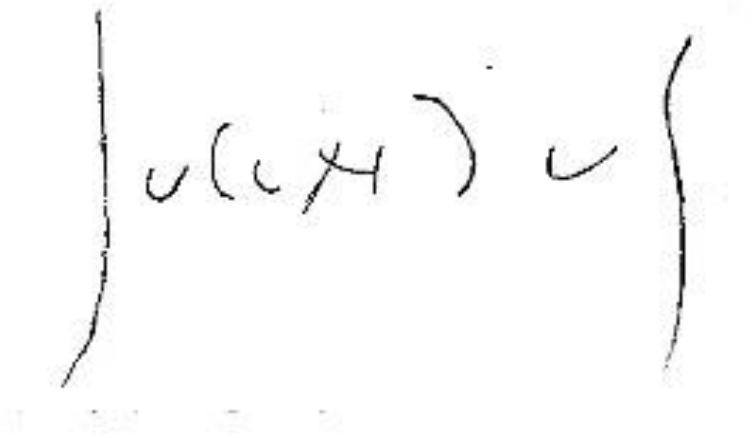


Figure 174: CIL IV 6787 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

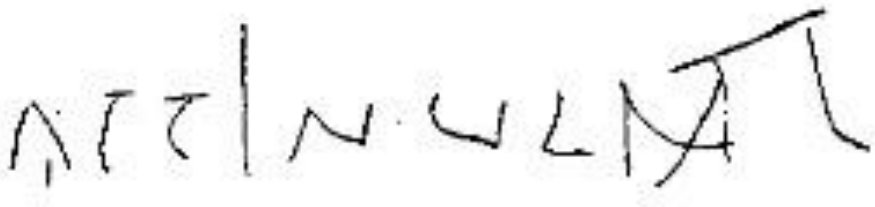


Figure 175: CIL IV 6788 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

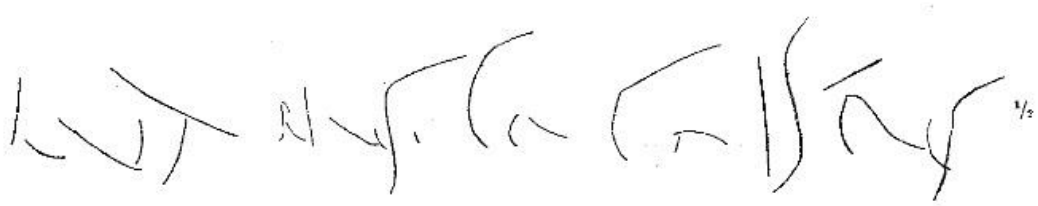


Figure 176: CIL IV 6789 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

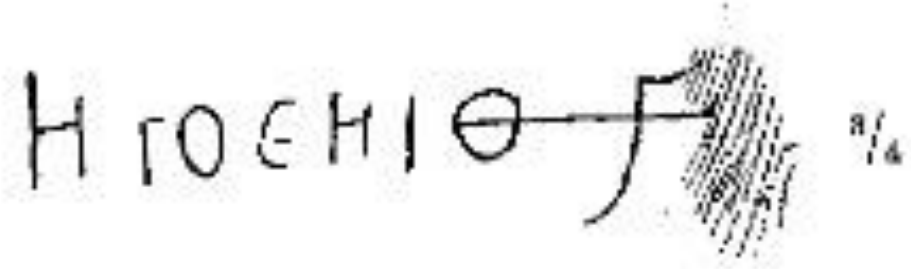


Figure 177: CIL IV 6790 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

Figure 178: V.4.a, Room 8, photograph by the author

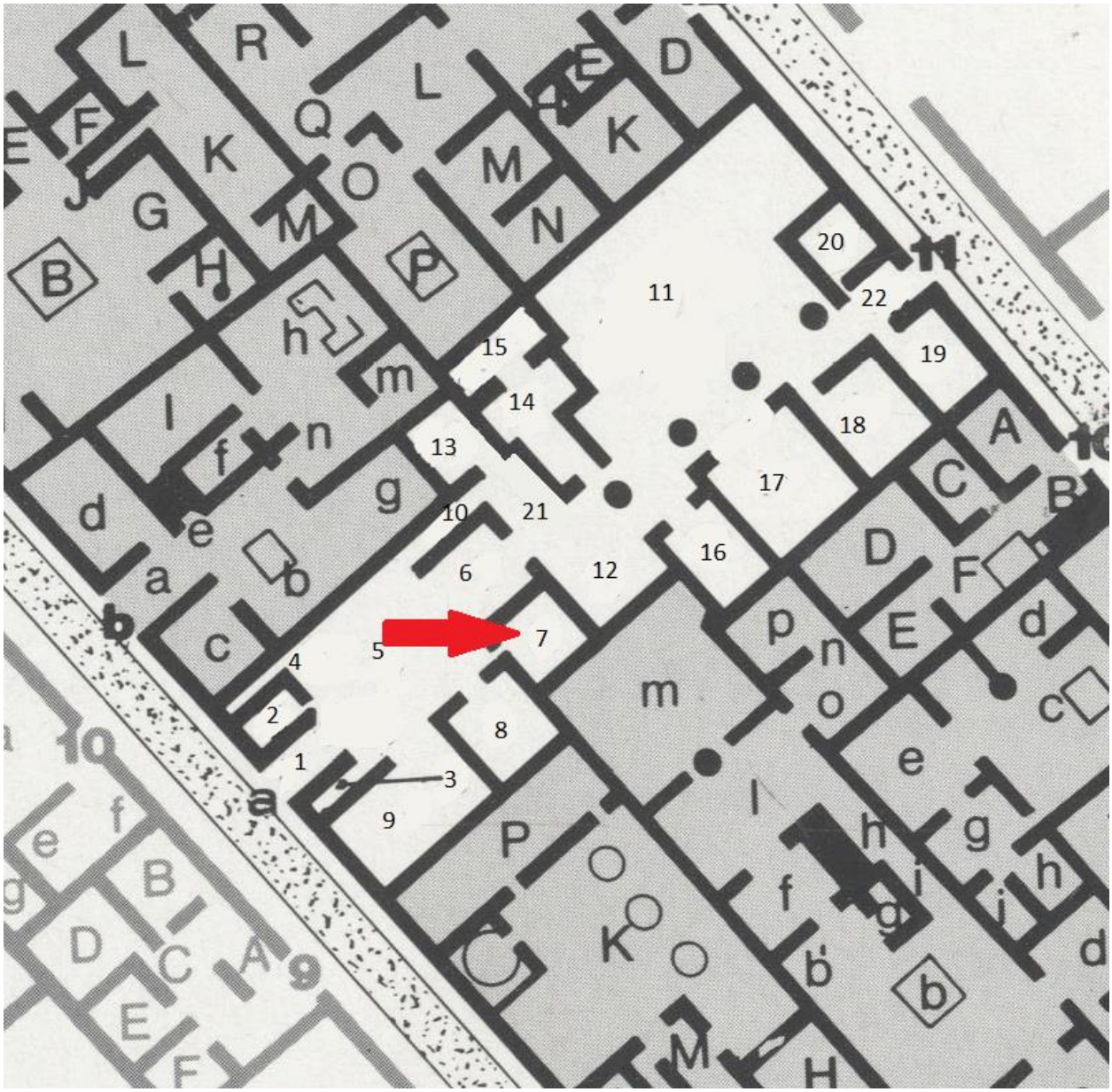


Figure 179: V.4.a plan from (de Vos 1991b, 966), arrow added by the author

Figure 180: V.4.a, Room 7, threshold, photograph by the author

Figure 181: V.4.a, Room 7, north, south, and east walls, photograph by the author

Figure 182: V.4.a, Room 7, southwest wall, photograph by the author

Figure 183: V.4.a, *tablinum*, arrow indicates the location of CIL IV 6791, photograph by the author

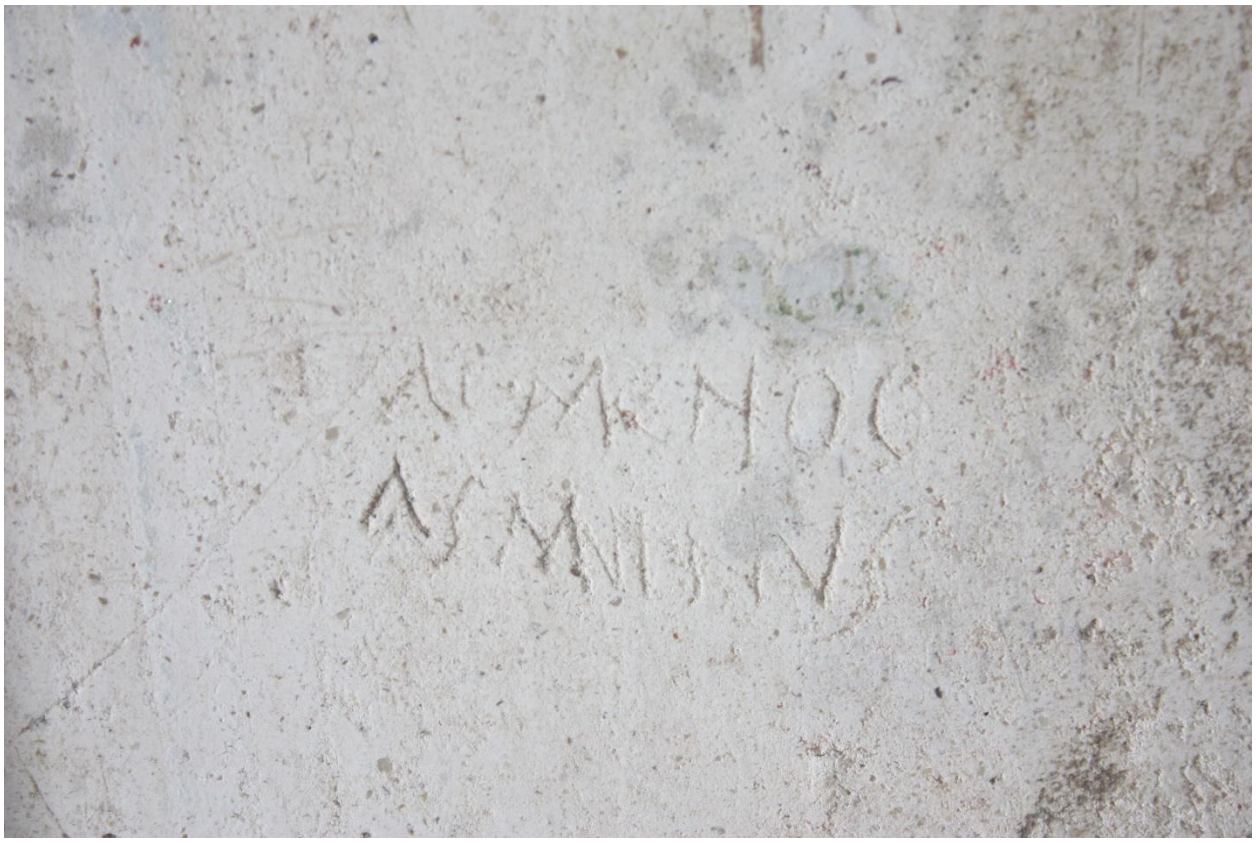


Figure 184: CIL IV 6791, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 185: V.4.a, kitchen (Room 19), photograph by the author

Figure 186: V.4.a, kitchen (Room 19), photograph by the author

Figure 187: V.4.a, storeroom (Room 3), photograph by the author

Figure 188: Two rectangles in V.4.a, Room 3 (= Peters and Moorman 1993, 386)), photograph by the author

Figure 189: V.4.a, south wall of the peristyle, arrow indicates the location of CIL IV 6796, photograph by the author

Figure 190: CIL IV 6796, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 191: CIL IV 6796 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

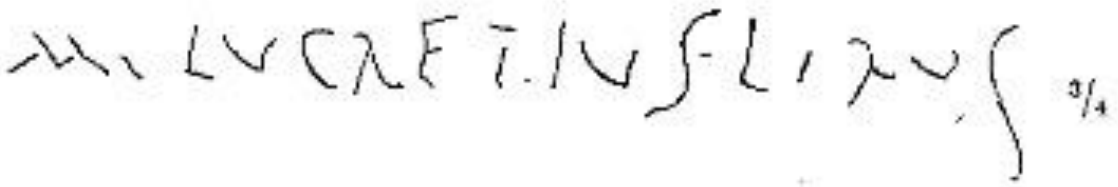


Figure 192: CIL IV 6797 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

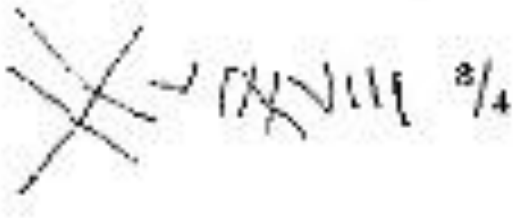


Figure 193: CIL IV 6798 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

Figure 194: CIL IV 6799 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

Figure 195: V.1.18, Room 4, view from the *atrium*, photograph by the author

Figure 196: V.1.18, Room 4, interior, photograph by the author

Figure 197: V.1.18, Room 9, west portion of north wall, Painting of Alcestis seated from (de Vos 1991a)

Figure 198: V.1.18, Room 9, eastern portion of west wall, Painting of Admetus from (de Vos 1991a)

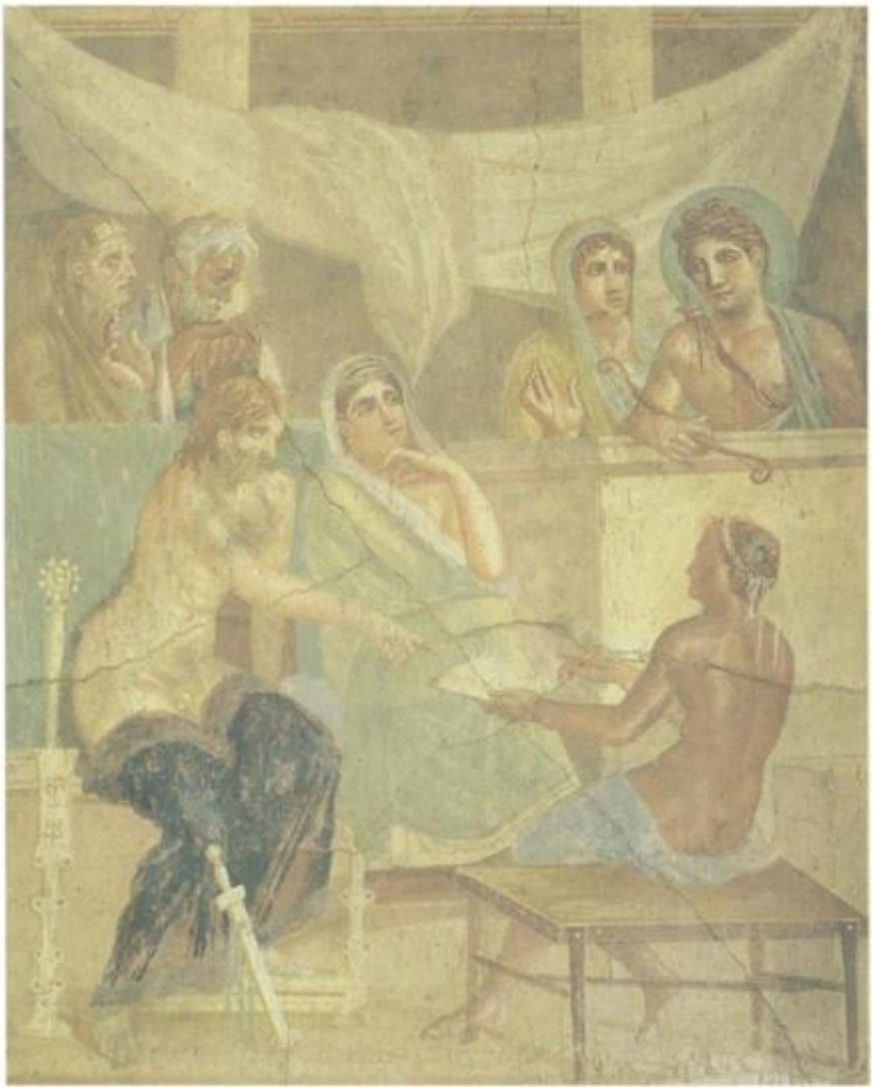


Figure 199: Painting of Admetus and Alcestis from the *tablinum* of the House of the Tragic Poet from (Bergmann 1994, 236)

Figure 200: V.1.18, Room 12, overview, photograph by the author

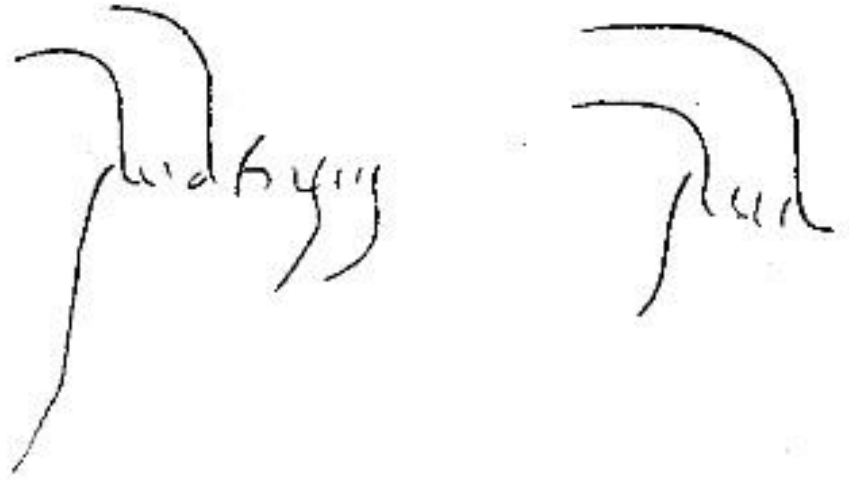


Figure 201: CIL IV 4043 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

Figure 202: V.1.18, Room 16, photograph by the author

Figure 203: CIL IV 4053 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

Figure 204: V.1.18, peristyle, facing east, photograph by the author

Figure 205: V.1.18 peristyle, facing west photograph by the author

Figure 206: V.2.g, *atrium*, photograph by the author

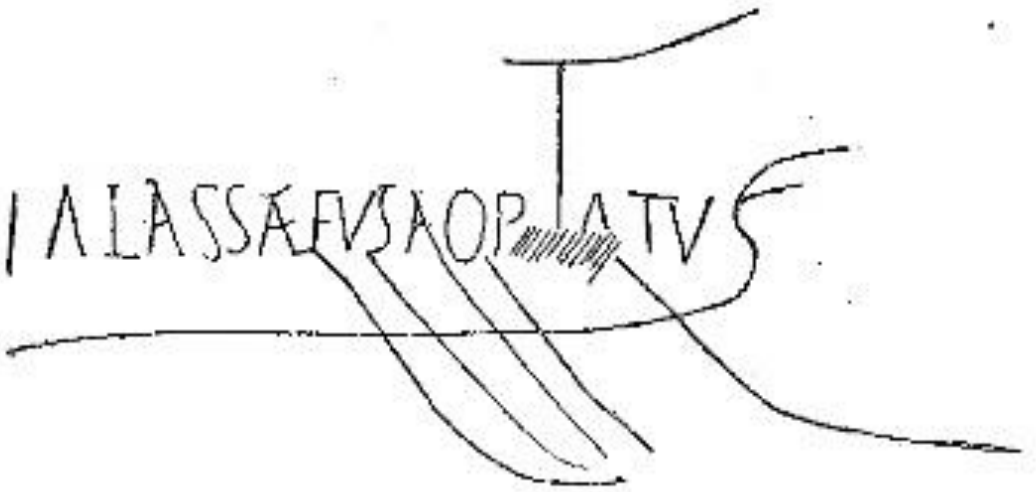


Figure 207: CIL IV 4225 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

Figure 208: V.2.g, *cubiculum* (Room 8), photograph by the author

Figure 209: V.2.g, peristyle, photograph by the author

Figure 210: V.2.g, peristyle, photograph by the author

Figure 211: VI.13.19, *fauces,* photograph by the author

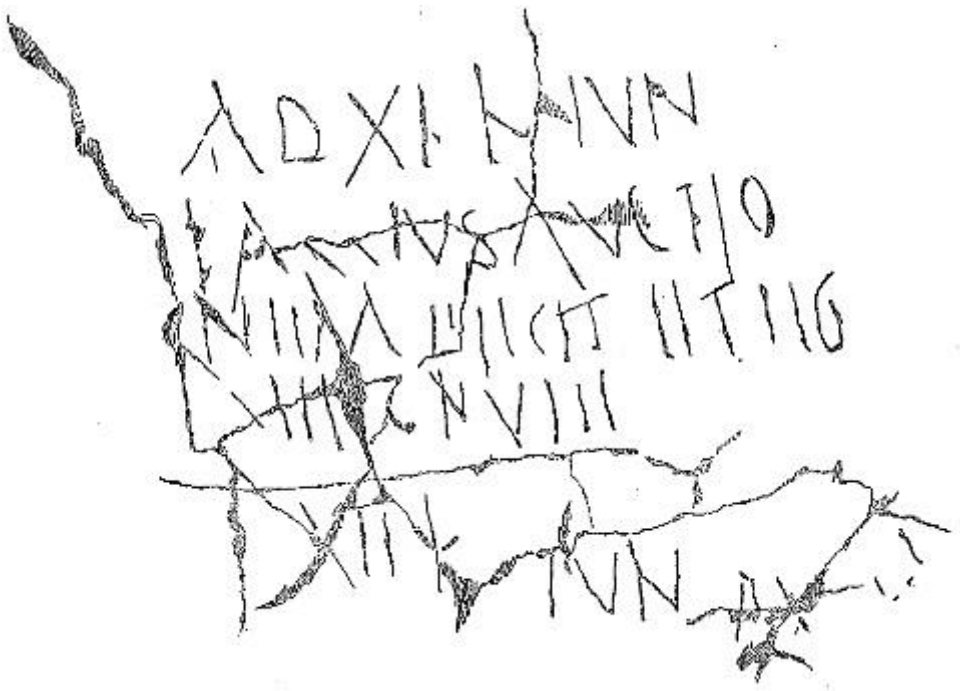


Figure 212: CIL IV 4495 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

Figure 213: VI.13.19*, ala,* photograph by the author

Figure 214: CIL IV 4497 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

Figure 215: CIL IV 4498 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

Figure 216: VI.14.20, peristyle, facing southwest, photograph by the author

Figure 217: VI.14.20, peristyle, facing south, photograph by the author

Figure 218: VI.14.20, peristyle, facing south west, photograph by the author

Figure 219: VI.14.20, peristyle facing southwest, painting of Orpheus, photograph by the author

Figure 220: DiBiasie 10, photograph by the author

Figure 221: DiBiasie 10, photograph by the author

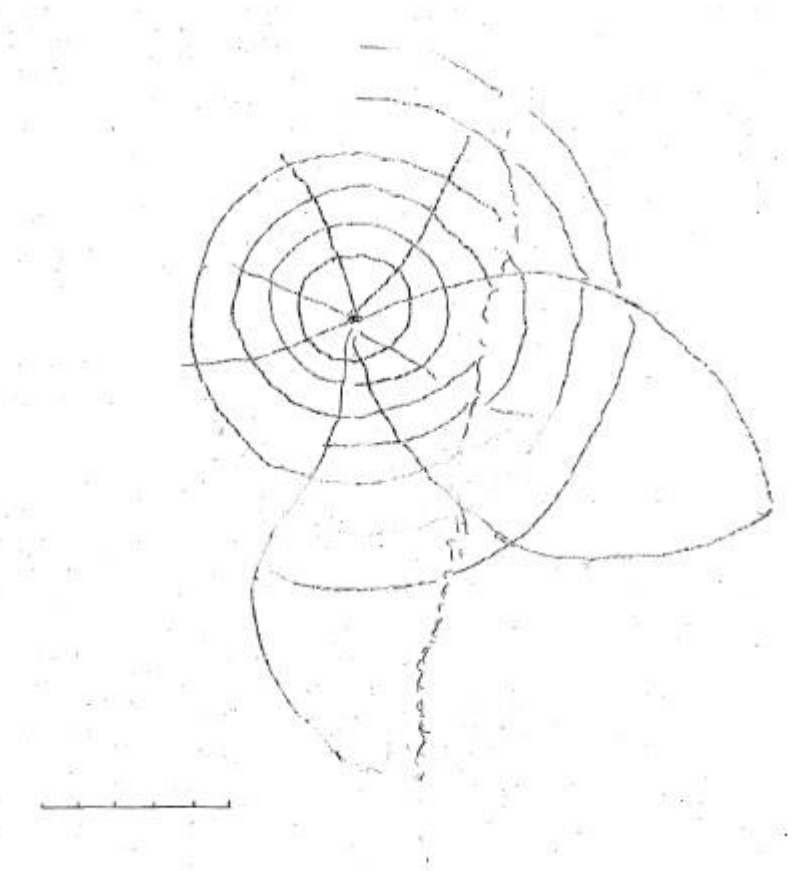


Figure 222: DiBiasie 10, line drawing by the author

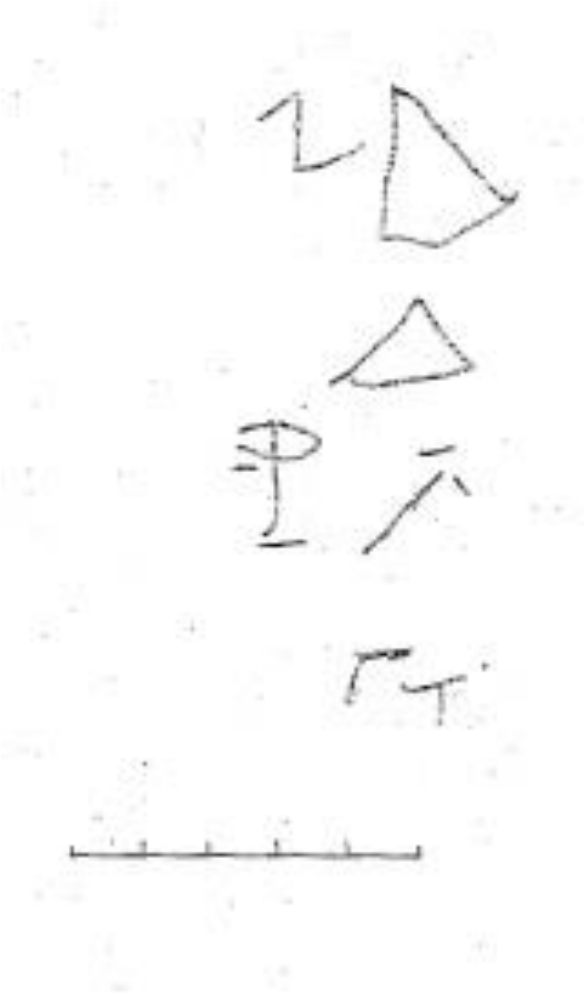


Figure 223: DiBiasie 16, line drawing by the author

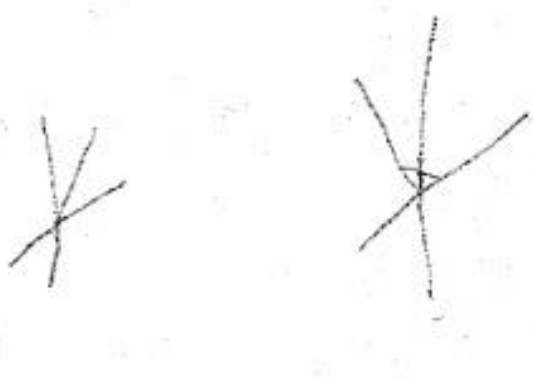


Figure 224: DiBiasie 11, line drawing by the author

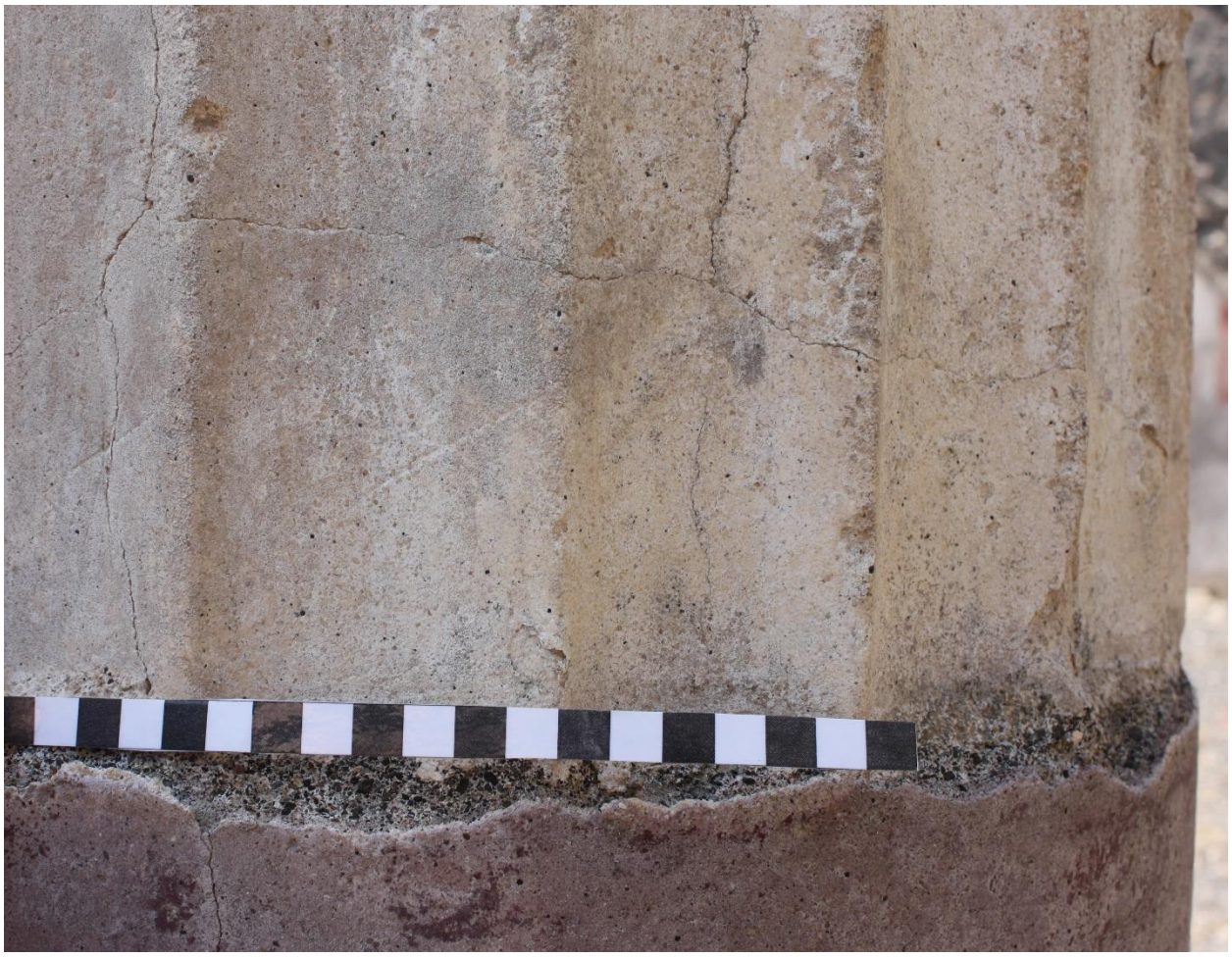


Figure 225: DiBiasie 11, photograph by the author

Figure 226: DiBiasie 11, photograph by the author

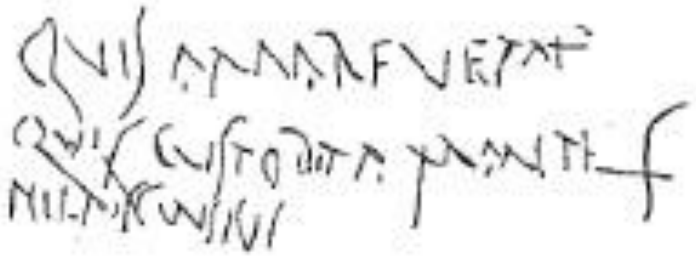


Figure 227: CIL IV 4509 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

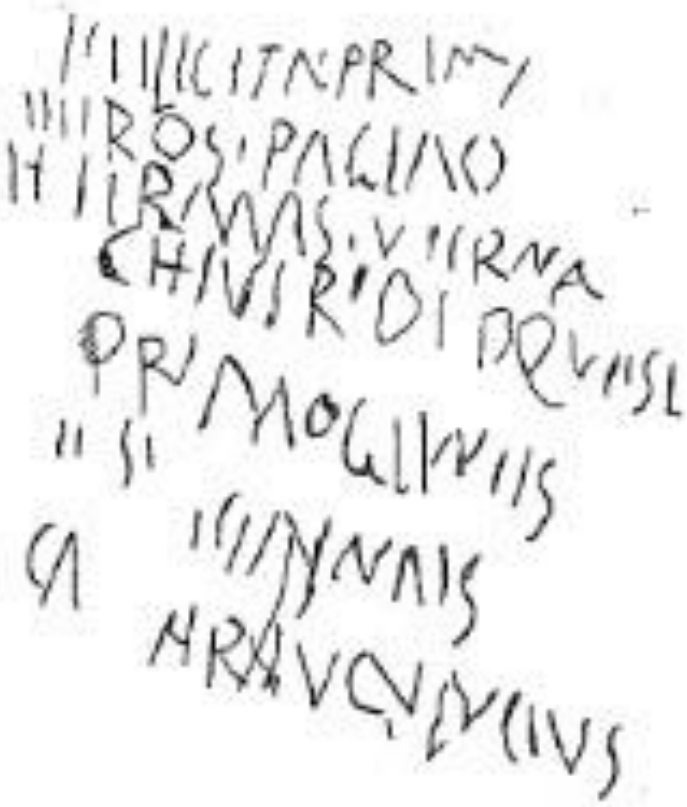


Figure 228: CIL IV 4512 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

Figure 229: CIL IV 4513 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

Figure 230: VI.14.20, *cubiculum* (Room 13), photograph by the author

Figure 231: VI.14.20, *cubiculum* (Room 13), north and east walls, photograph by the author

Figure 232: VI.14.20, *cubiculum* (Room 13), south wall, photograph by the author

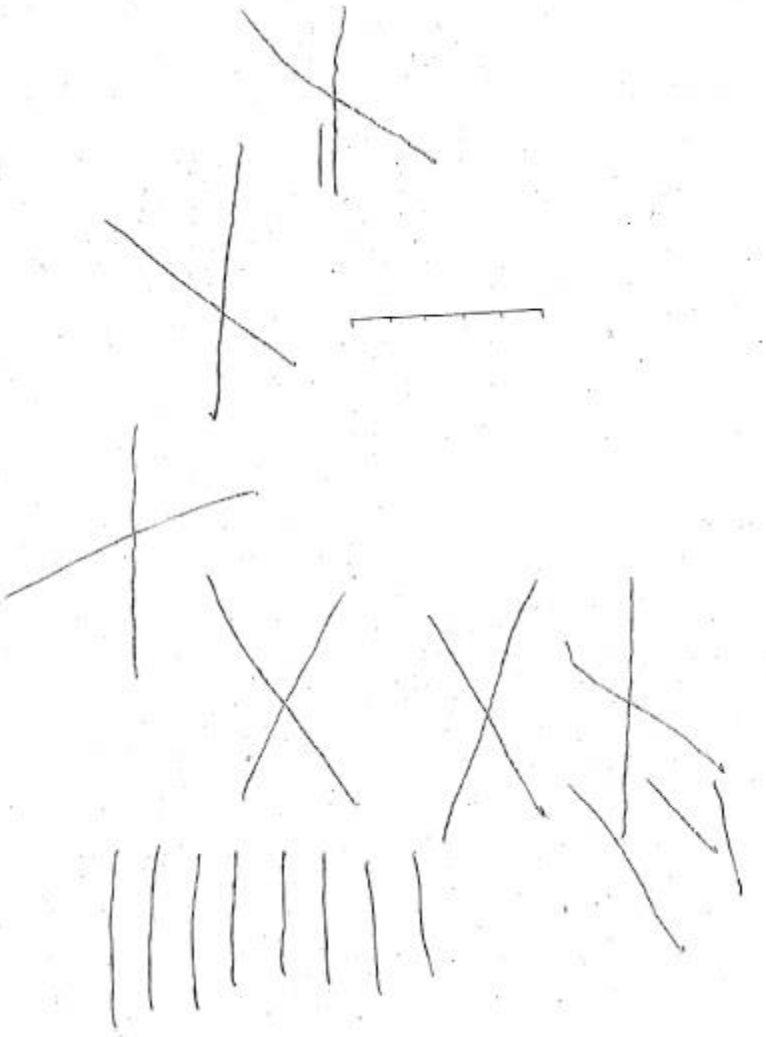


Figure 233: DiBiasie 12, line drawing by the author

Figure 234: DiBiasie 12, photograph by the author

Figure 235: DiBiasie 12, photograph by the author

Figure 236: CIL IV 4522, photograph by the author

Figure 237: CIL IV 4523, photograph by the author

Figure 238: CIL IV 4523, photograph by the author

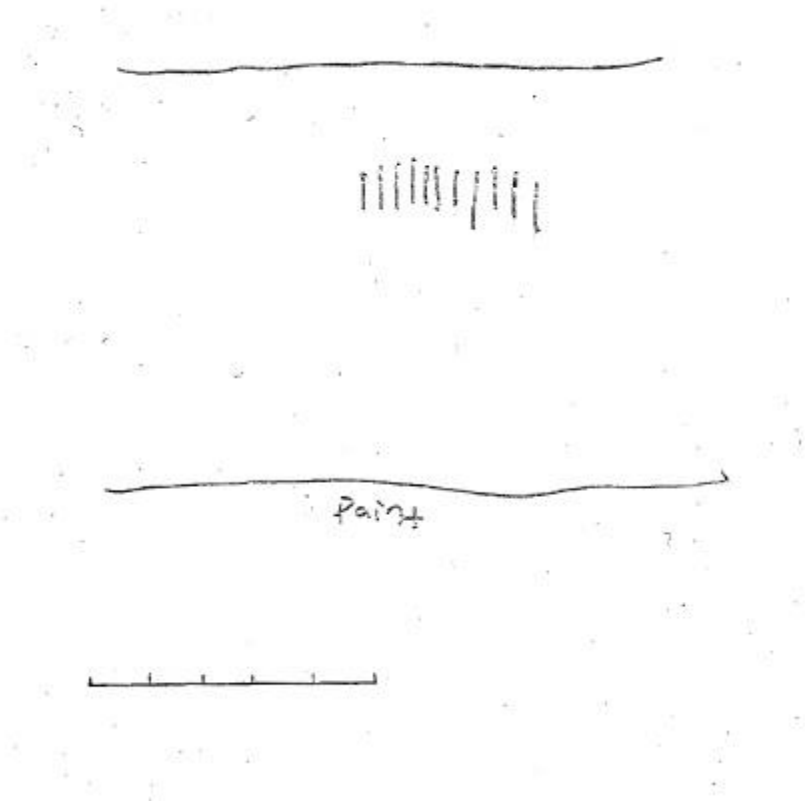


Figure 239: DiBiasie 15, line drawing by the author

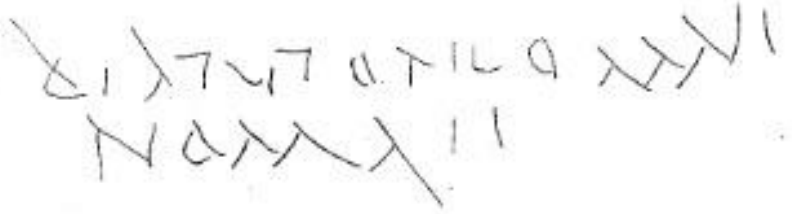


Figure 240: CIL IV 4519 from (Mau, A., and Zangemeister, C., 1909)

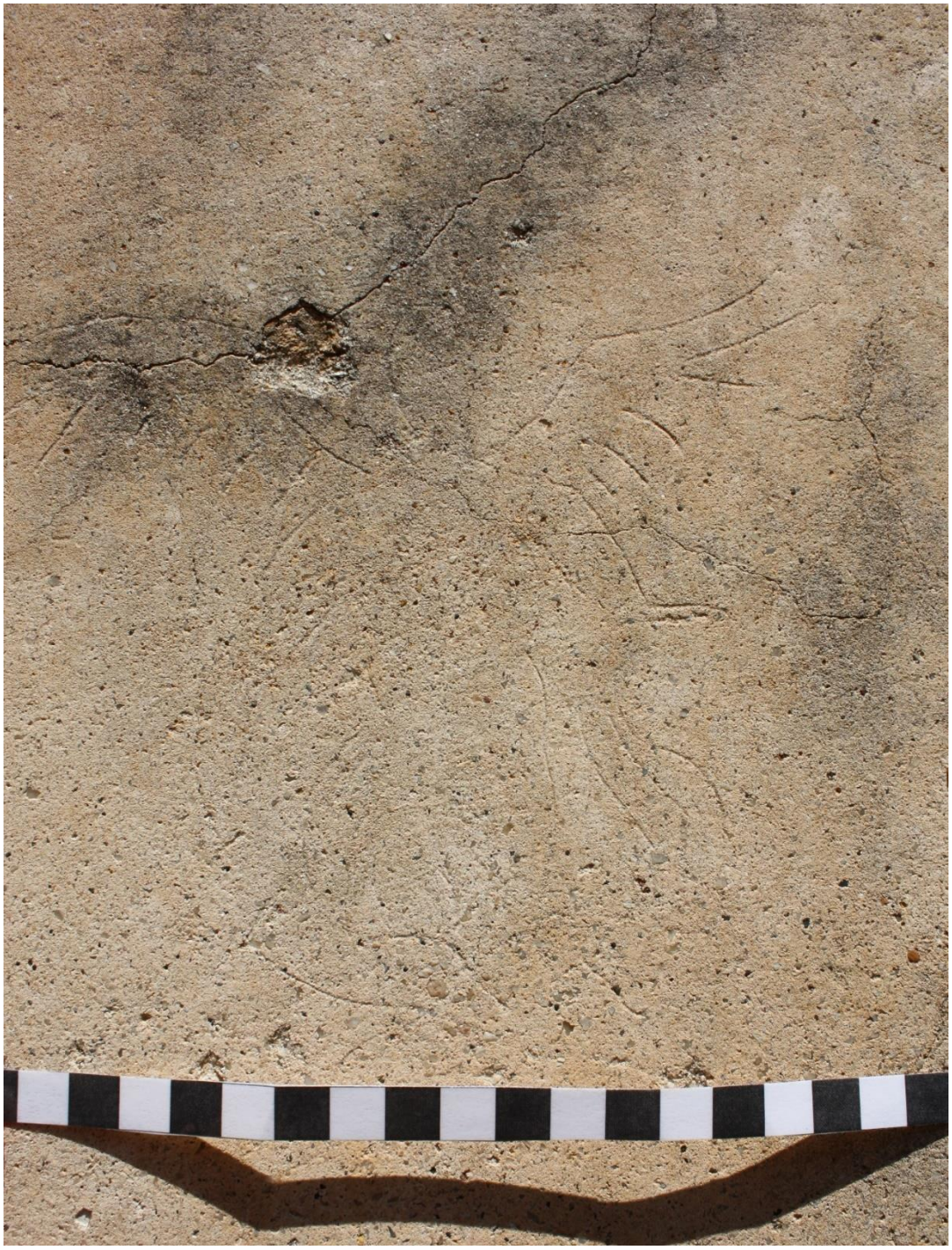


Figure 241: DiBiasie 17, photograph by the author

Figure 242: DiBiasie 17, photograph by the author

Figure 243: DiBiasie 17 from the ground, photograph by the author

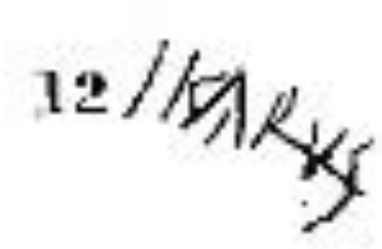


Figure 244: CIL IV 2369 from (Zangemeister 1871)

Figure 245: I.4.5, walkway to latrine, photograph by the author

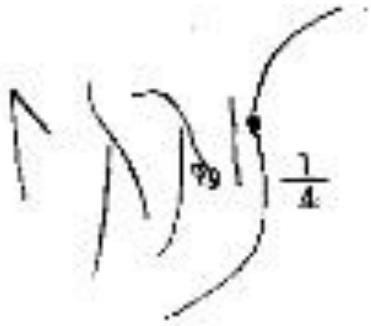


Figure 246: CIL IV 2370 from (Zangemeister 1871)

Figure 247: I.4.5, upper peristyle, photograph by the author

Figure 248: CIL IV 2380 from (Zangemeister 1871)

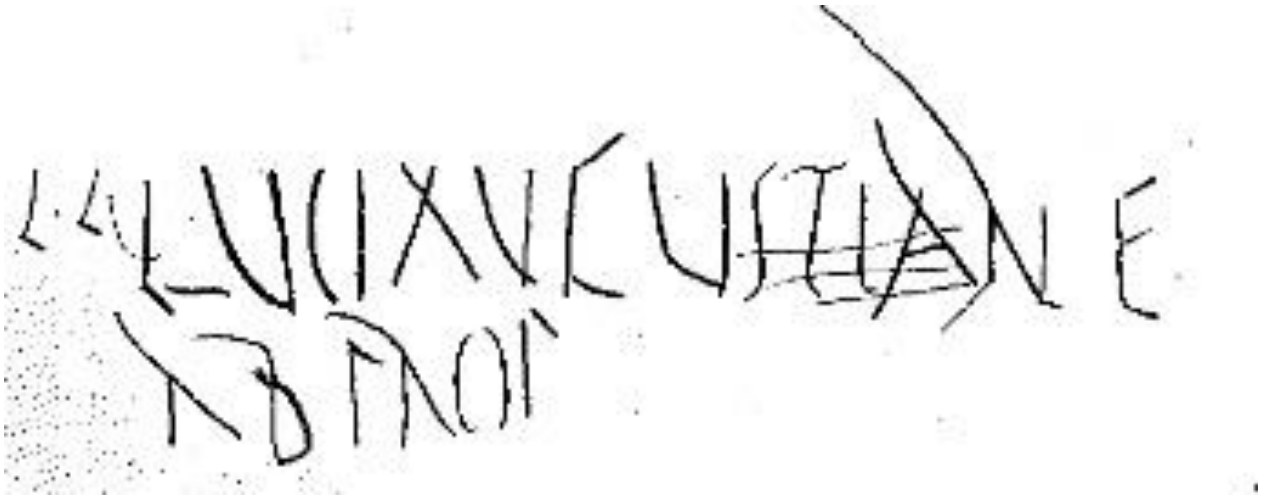


Figure 249: CIL IV 2381 from (Zangemeister 1871)

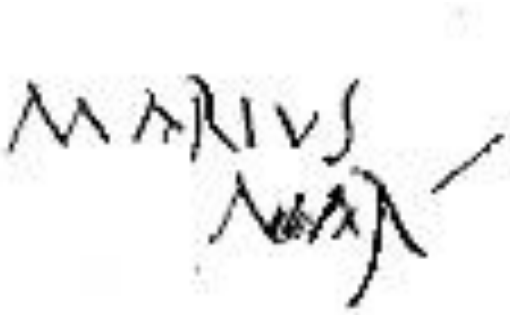


Figure 250: CIL IV 2382 from (Zangemeister 1871)

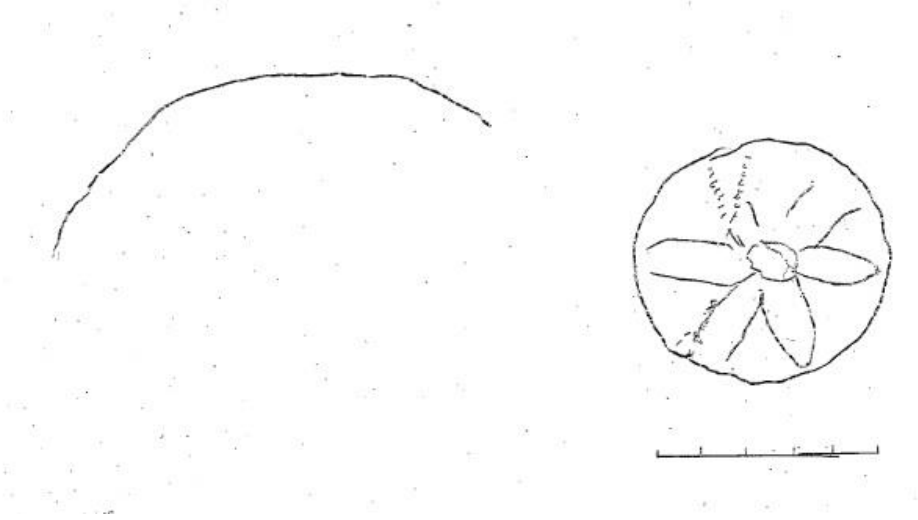


Figure 251: DiBiasie 01 and DiBiasie 02, line drawing by the author

Figure 252: I.4.5, "*Lacus*" (Room 32), photograph by the author

Figure 253: CIL IV 2371 from (Zangemeister 1871)

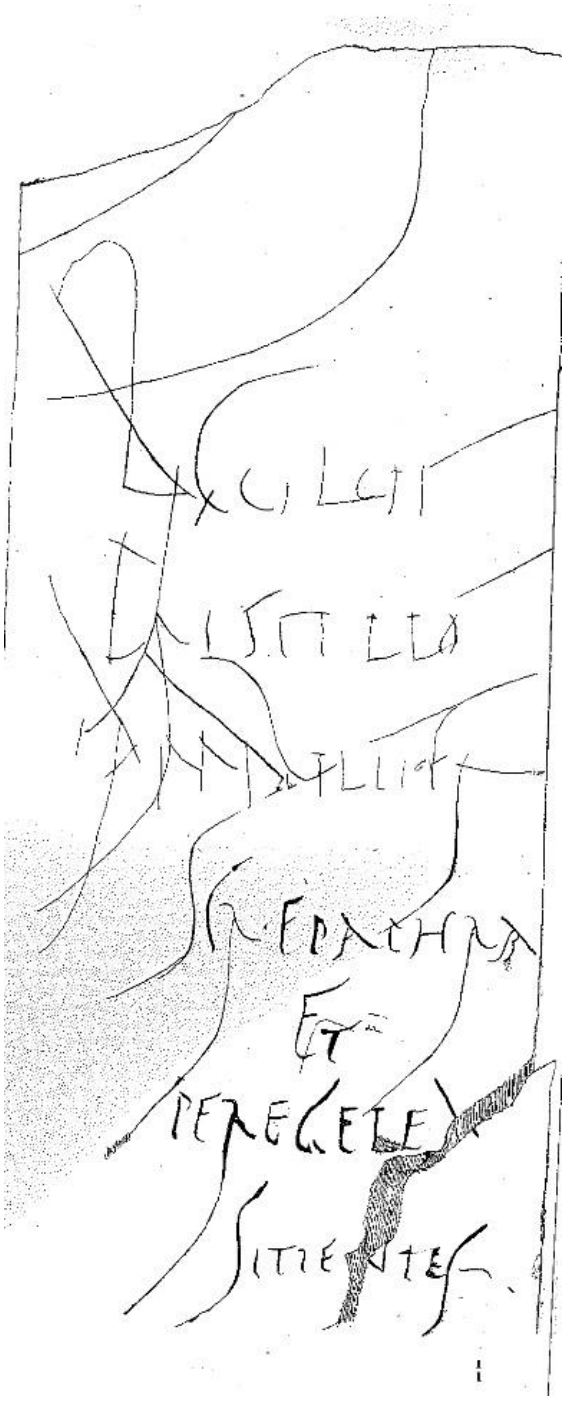


Figure 354: CIL IV 2374 from (Zangemeister 1871)

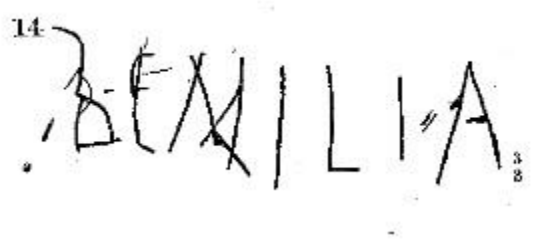


Figure 255: CIL IV 2378 from (Zangemeister 1871)

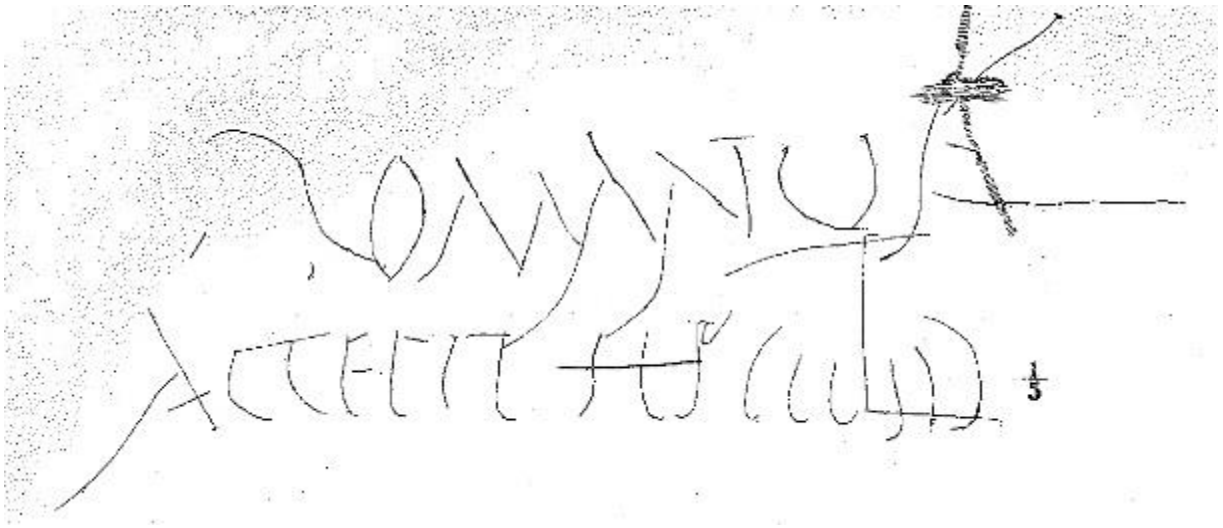


Figure 256: CIL IV 2379 from (Zangemeister 1871)

Figure 257: CIL IV 2144 from (Zangemeister 1871)

Figure 258: CIL IV 2145 from (Zangemeister 1871)

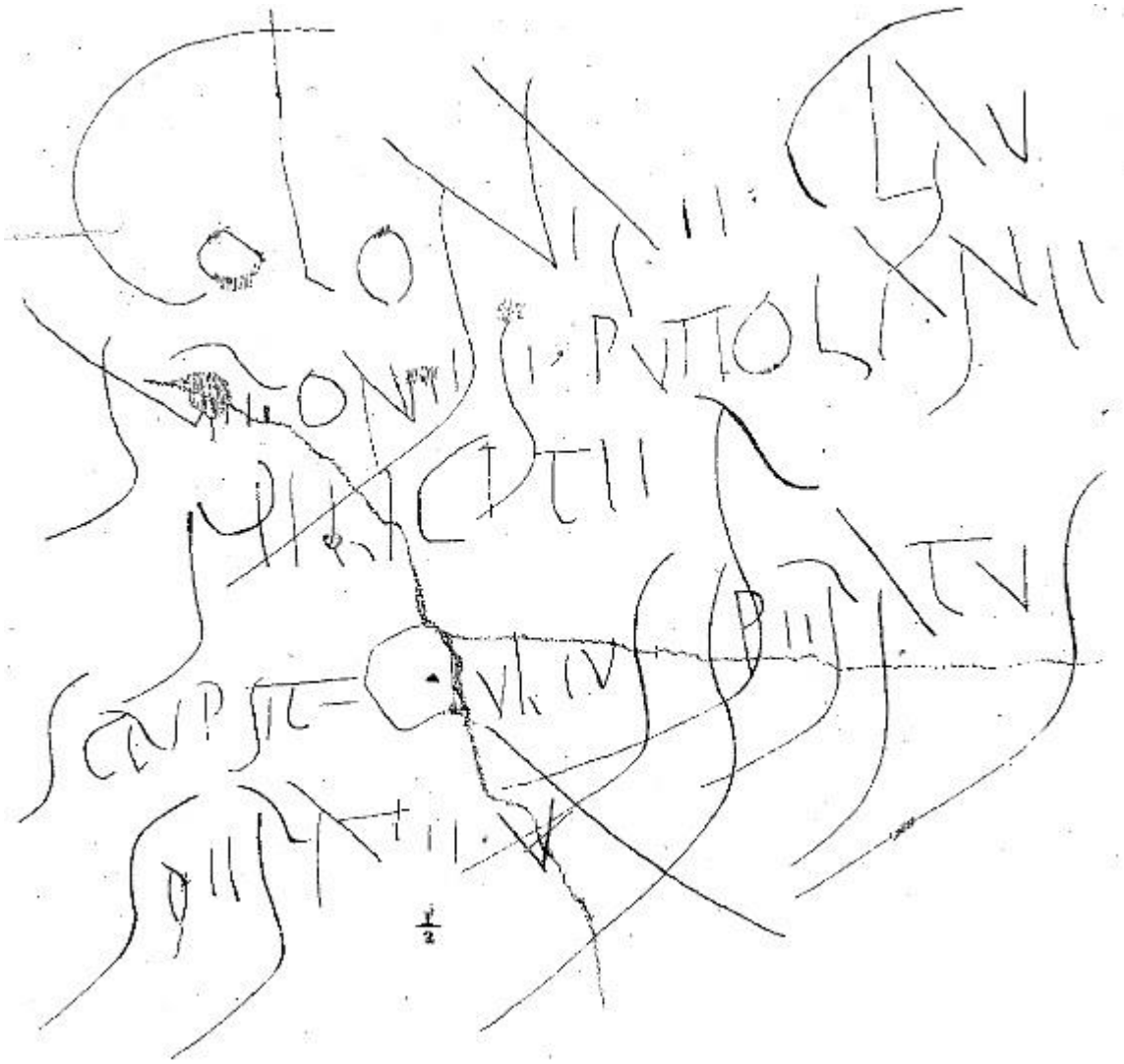


Figure 259: CIL IV 2152 from (Zangemeister 1871)

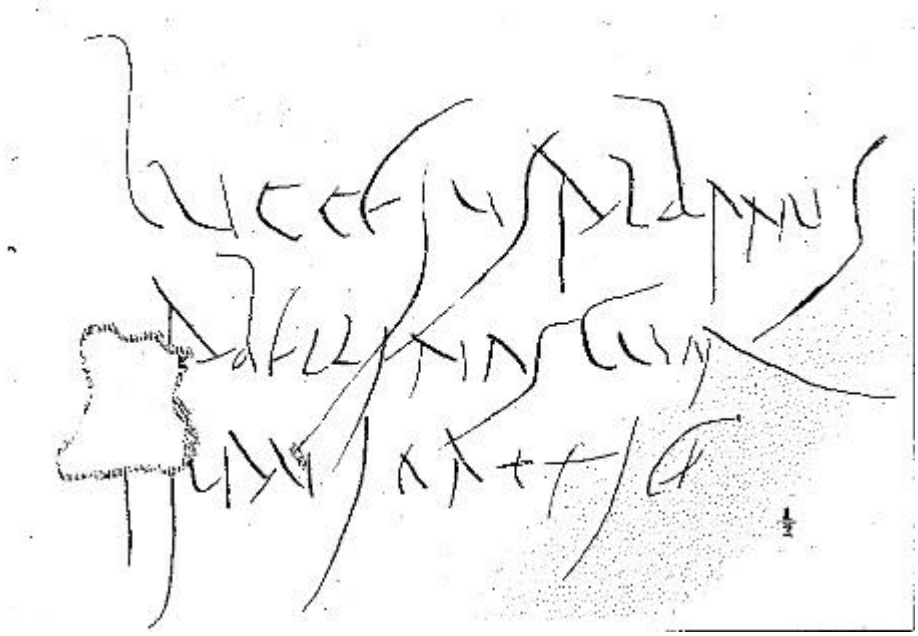


Figure 260: CIL IV 2159 from (Zangemeister 1871)

Figure 261: CIL IV 2162 from (Zangemeister 1871)

Figure 262: CIL IV 2163 from (Zangemeister 1871)

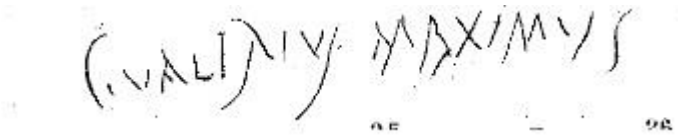


Figure 263: CIL IV 2157 from (Zangemeister 1871)

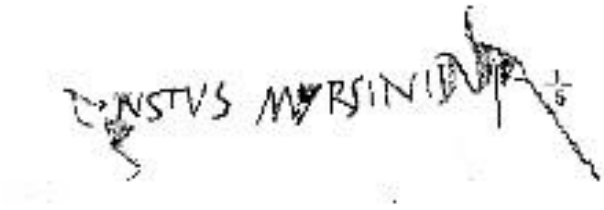


Figure 264: CIL IV 2151 from (Zangemeister 1871)

Figure 265: VII.11.11, *fauces*, photograph by the author

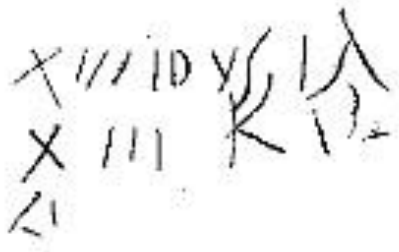


Figure 266: CIL IV 2011 from (Zangemeister 1871)

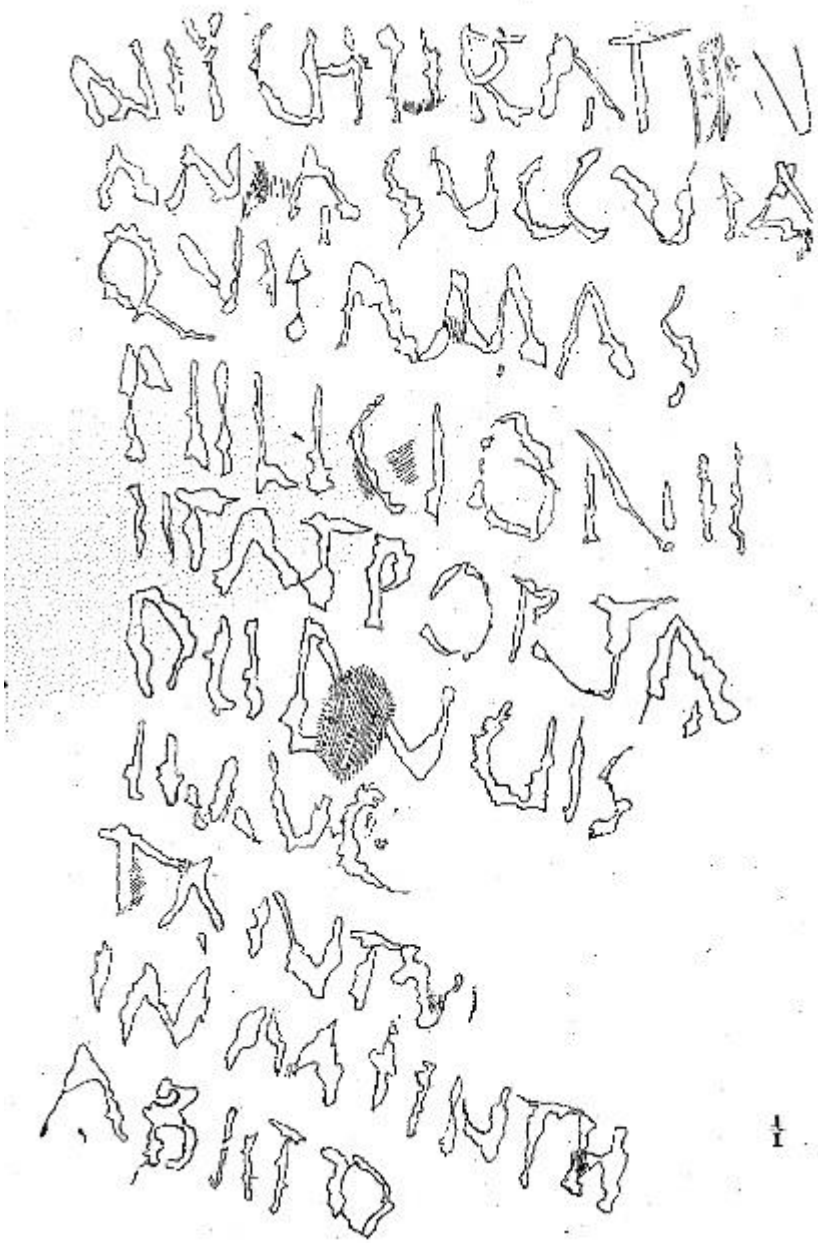


Figure 267: CIL IV 2013 from (Zangemeister 1871)

Figure 268: CIL IV 2544 from (Zangemeister 1871)

Figure 269: VII.11.11, *atrium*, facing south, photograph by the author

Figure 270: VII.11.11, *atrium*, facing east, photograph by the author

Figure 271: VII.11.11, *atrium*, facing north, photograph by the author

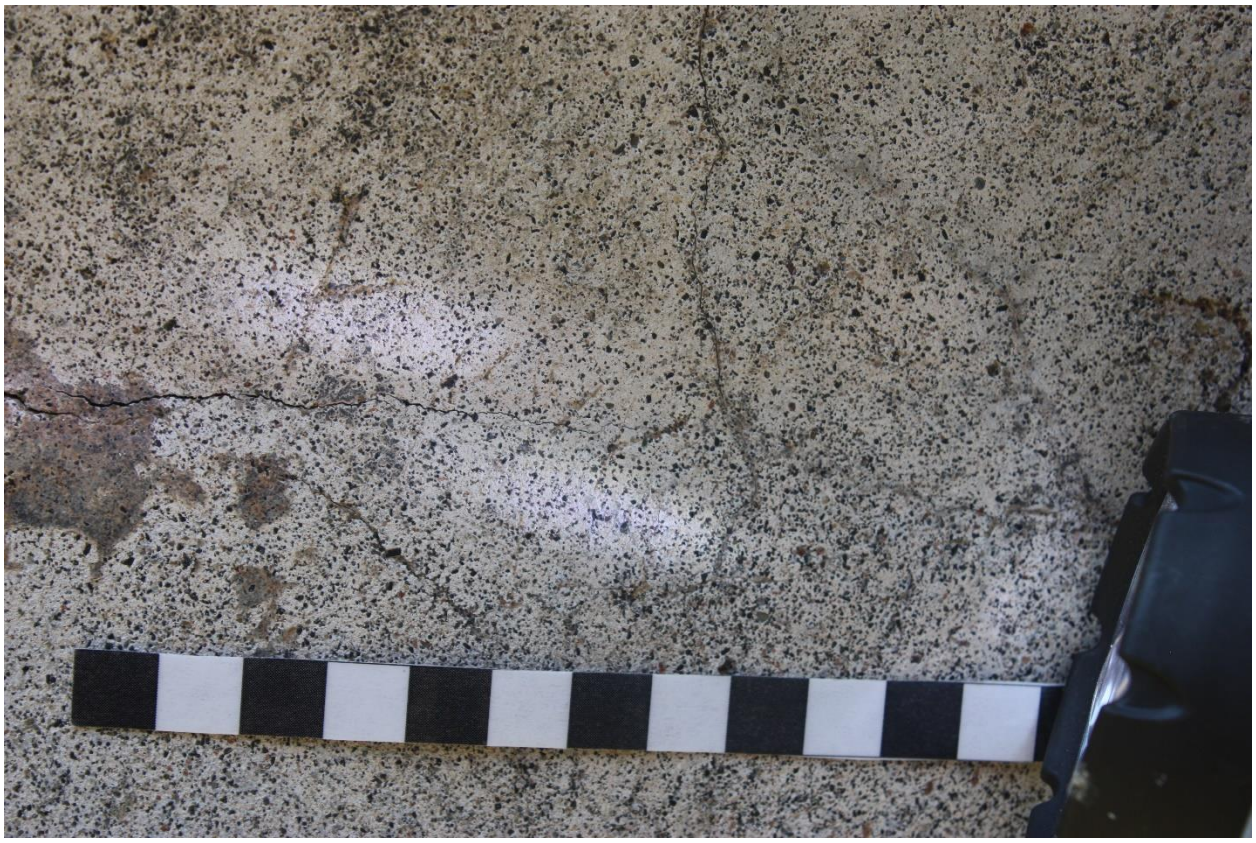


Figure 272: DiBiasie 07, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 273: DiBiasie 07, from the ground, photograph by the author

Figure 274: DiBiasie 08, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 275: DiBiasie 08, from the ground, photograph by the author

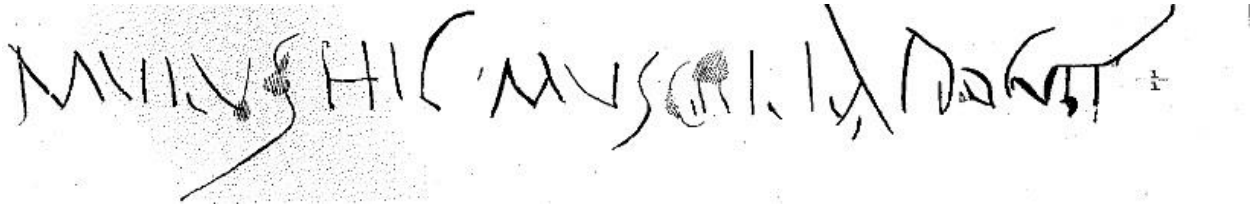


Figure 276: CIL IV 2016 from (Zangemeister 1871)

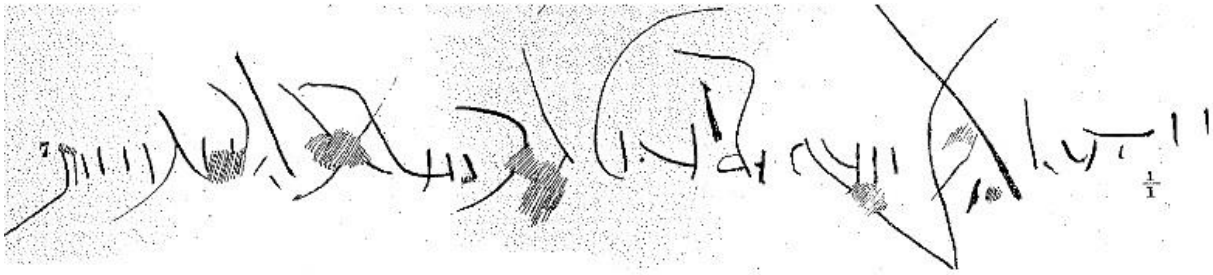


Figure 277: CIL IV 2018c from (Zangemeister 1871)

Figure 278: VII.11.11, *cubiculum* (Room 12), photograph by the author

Figure 279: VII.11.11, *cubiculum* (Room 12), photograph by the author

Figure 280: CIL IV 2020a, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 281: CIL IV 2020a, from the ground, photograph by the author

Figure 282: DiBiasie 09, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 283: DiBiasie 09, from the ground, photograph by the author

Figure 284: VII.11.11, *membrum/tablinum* (Room 7), facing south, photograph by the author

Figure 285: VII.11.11, *membrum/tablinum* (Room 7), facing north, photograph by the author

Figure 286: I.6.4, *oecus* (room 16), facing east, photograph by the author

Figure 287: I.6.4, *oecus* (room 16), facing north, photograph by the author

Figure 288: I.6.4, *oecus* (room 16), facing west, photograph by the author

Figure 289: DiBiasie 20, close up, photograph by the author

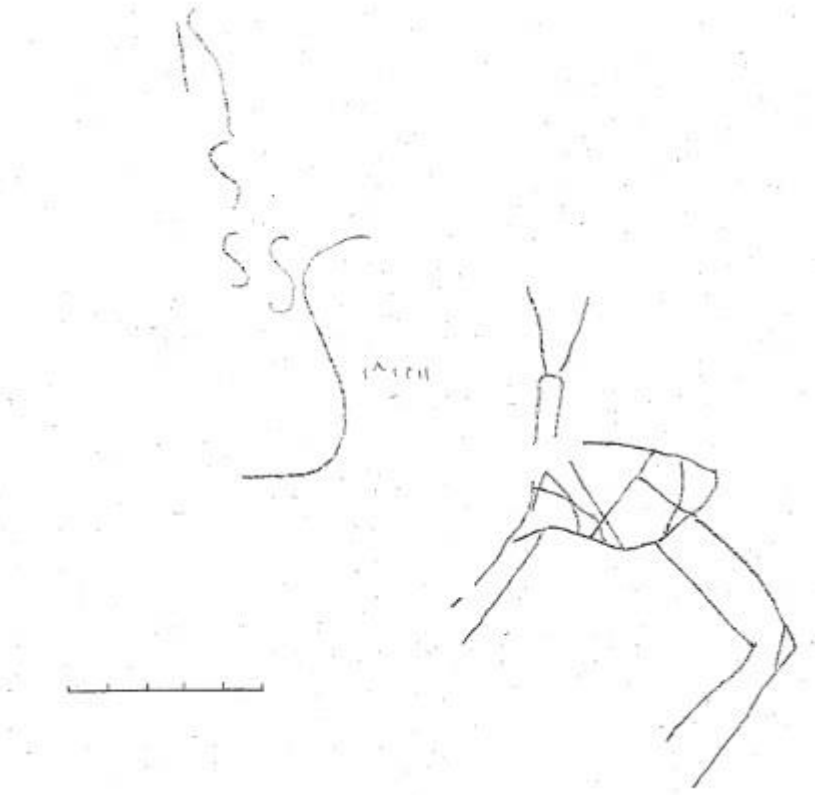


Figure 290: DiBiasie 20, line drawing by the author

Figure 291: DiBiasie 20, from the ground, photograph by the author

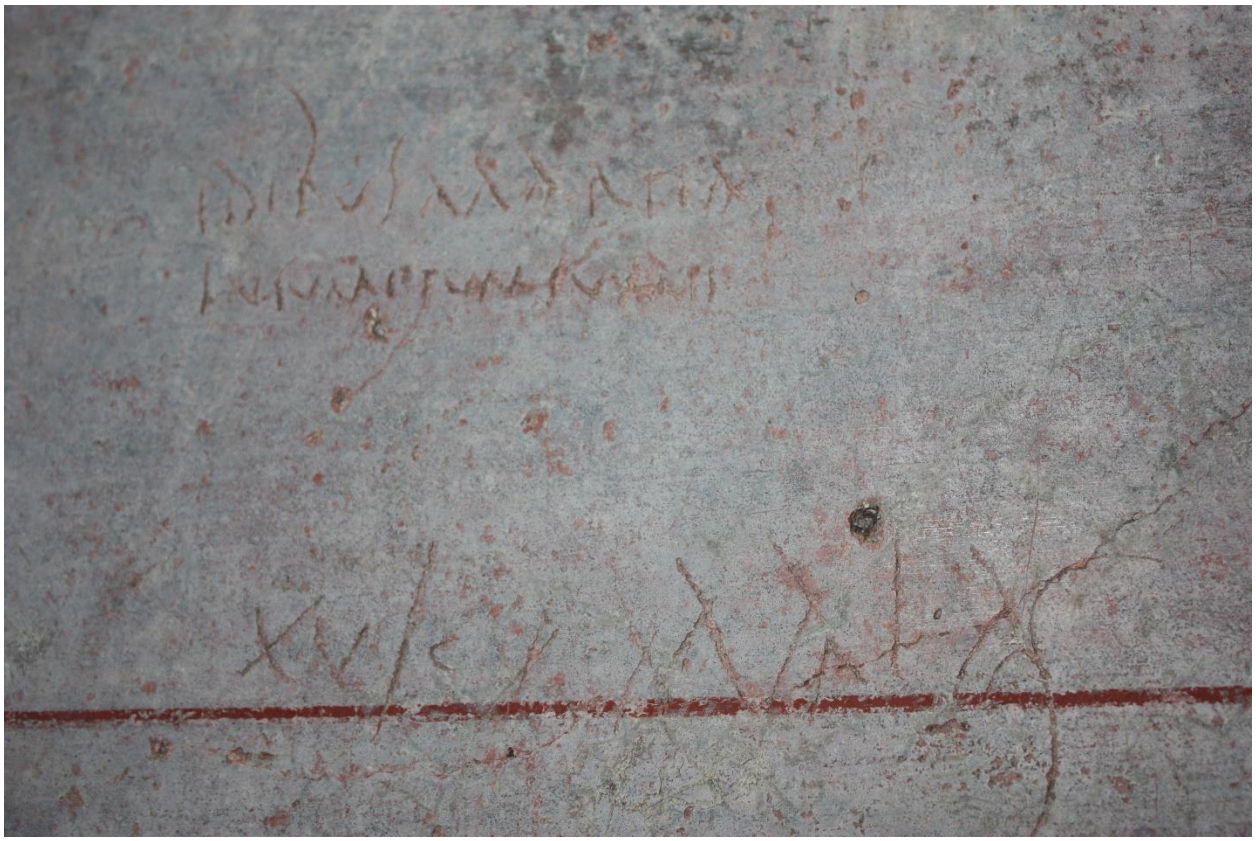


Figure 292: CIL IV 8013 and 8014, close up, photograph by the author

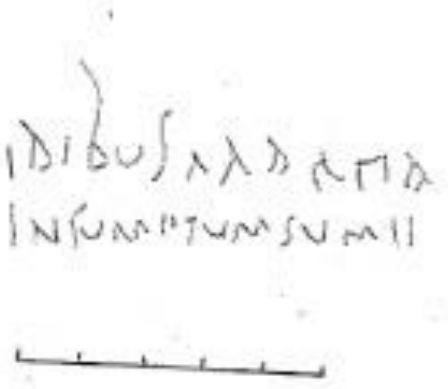


Figure 293: CIL IV 8013, line drawing by the author

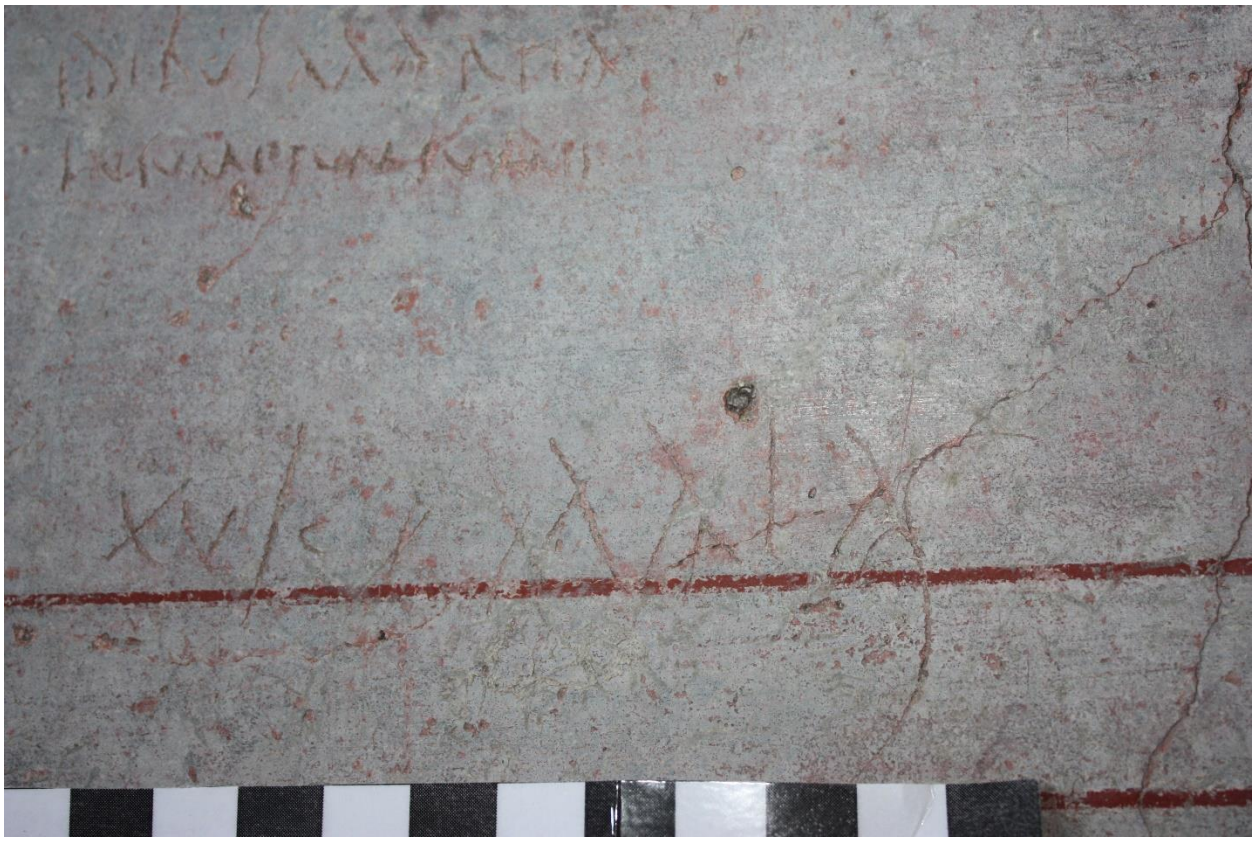


Figure 294: CIL IV 8017, close up, photograph by the author

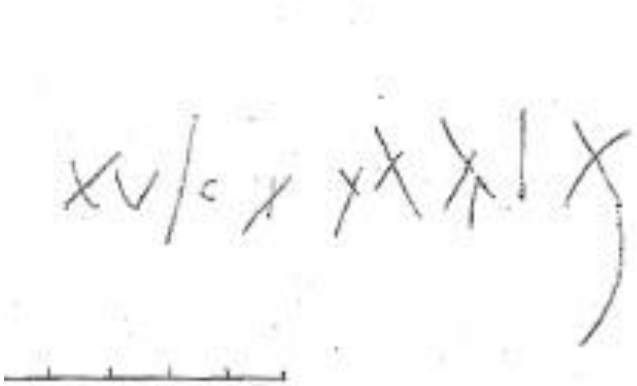


Figure 295: CIL IV 8017, line drawing by the author

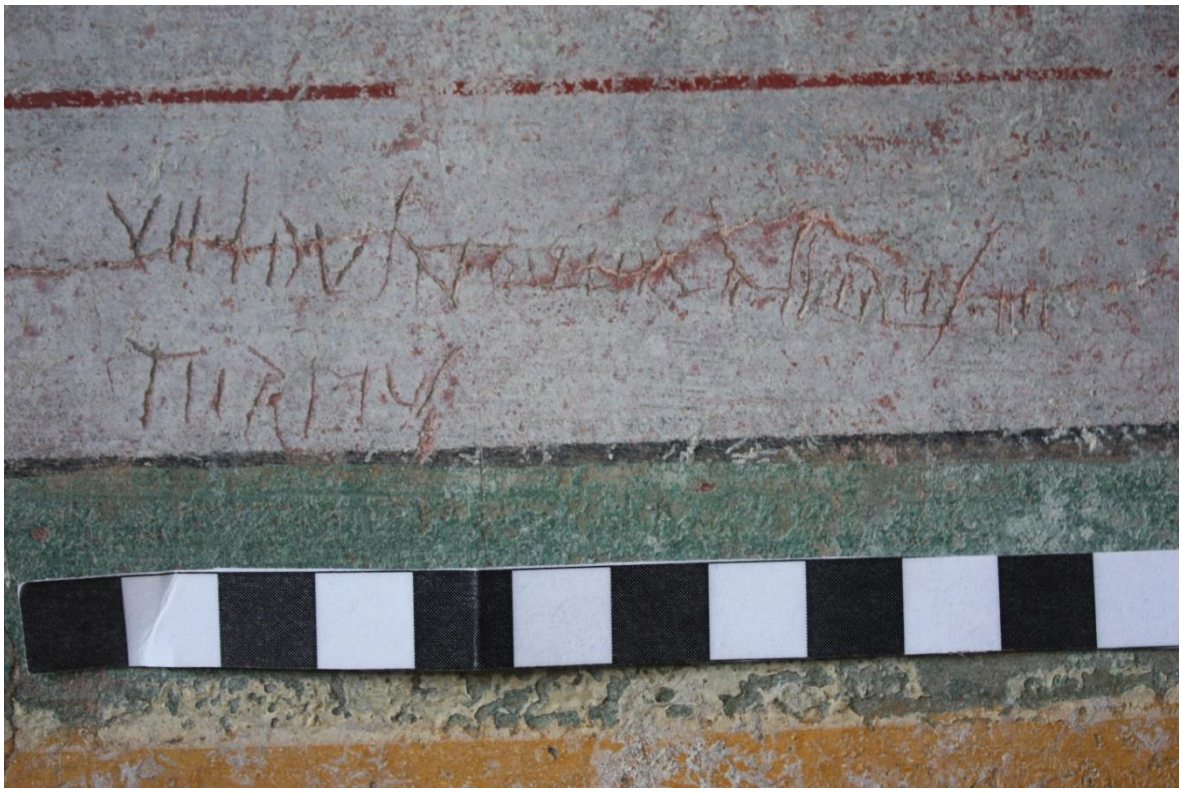


Figure 296: CIL IV 8015, close up, photograph by the author

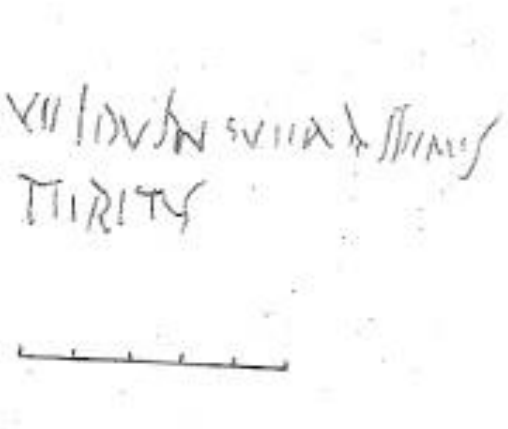


Figure 297: CIL IV 8015, line drawing by the author

Figure 298: CIL IV 8016, close up, photograph by the author

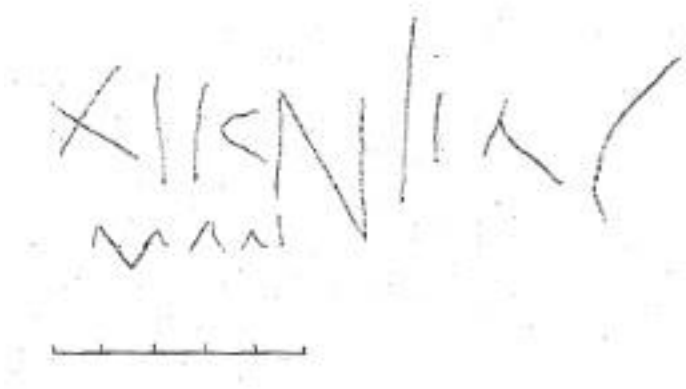


Figure 299: CIL IV 8016, line drawing by the author

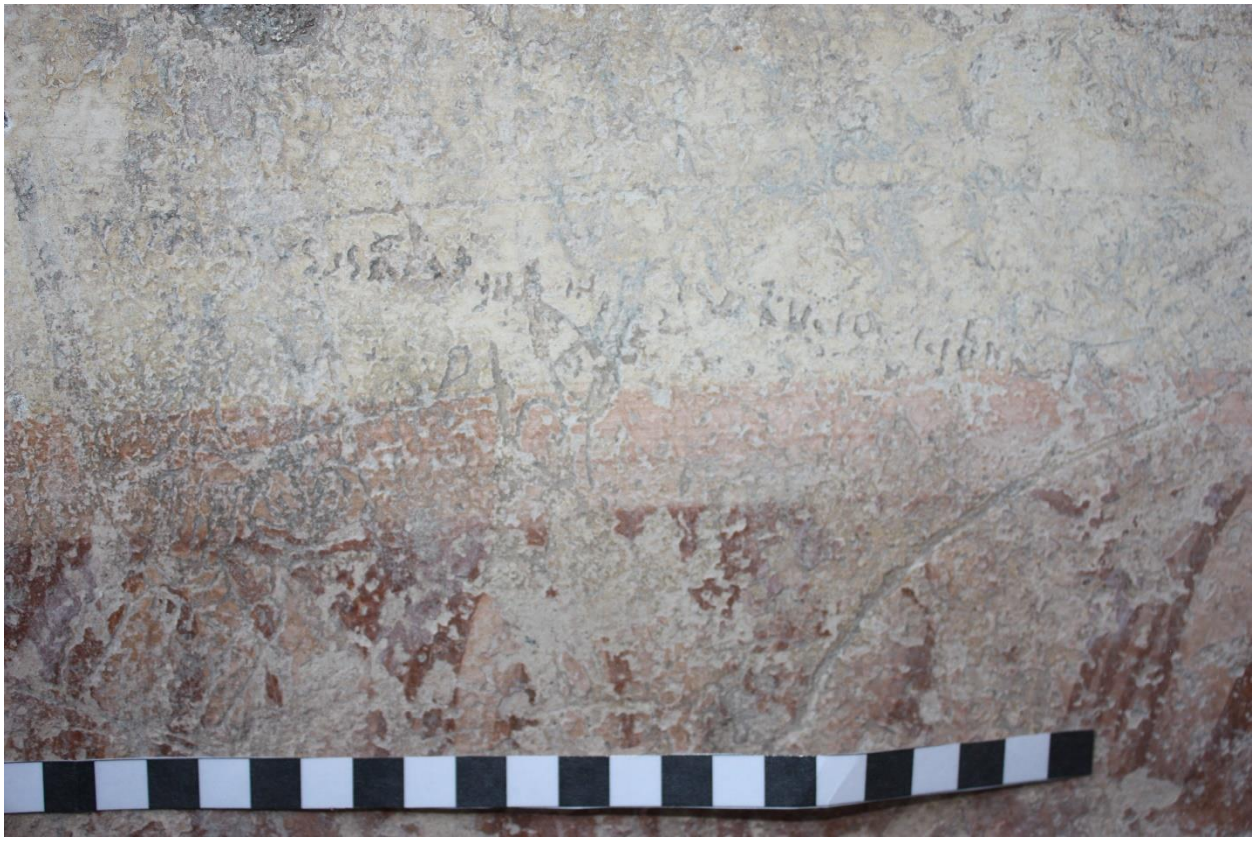


Figure 300: CIL IV 8017, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 301: CIL IV 8017

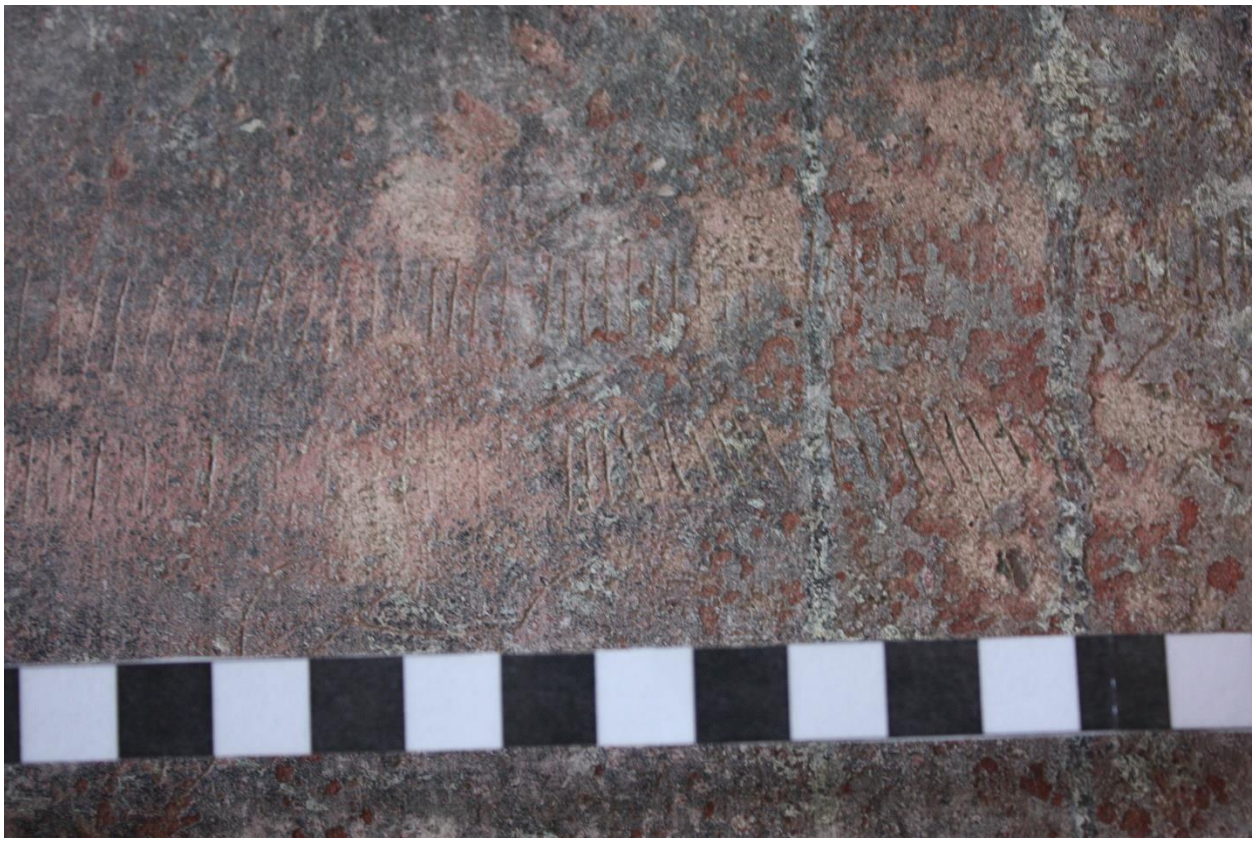


Figure 302: CIL IV 8018, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 303: CIL IV 8019, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 304: CIL IV 8019, from the ground, photograph by the author

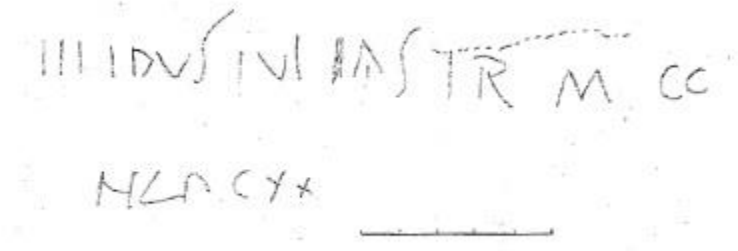


Figure 305: CIL IV 8019, line drawing by the author

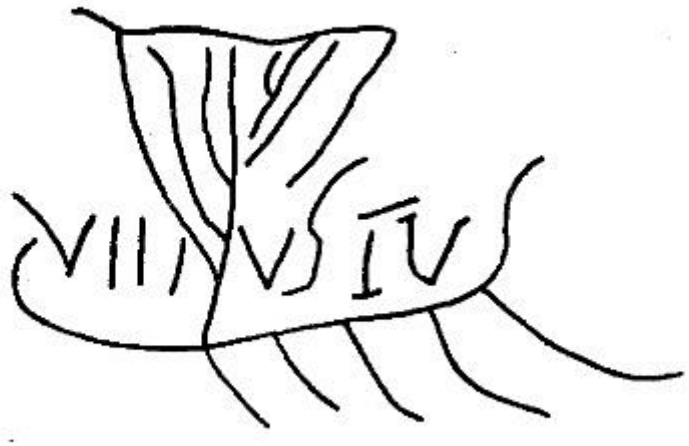


Figure 306: CIL IV 8020

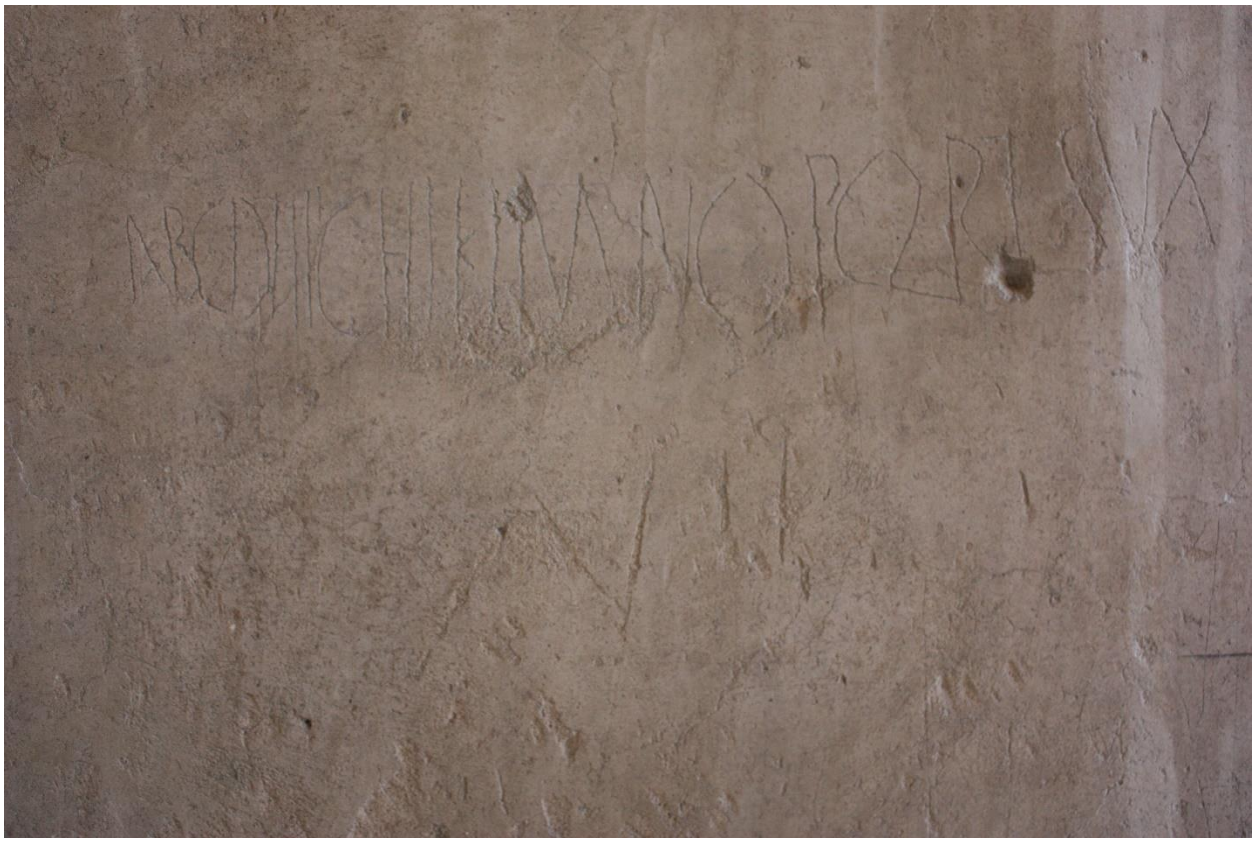


Figure 307: CIL IV 9264, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 308: CIL IV 9264, from the ground, photograph by the author

Figure 309: I.6.4, *cubiculum* (Room 19), threshold, photograph by the author

Figure 310: I.6.4, *cubiculum* (Room 19), facing north, photograph by the autho

Figure 311: I.6.4, *cubiculum* (Room 19), facing south, photograph by the author

Figure 312: I.6.4, *cubiculum* (Room 19), threshold detail, photograph by the author

Figure 313: CIL IV 8021, close up, photograph by the author

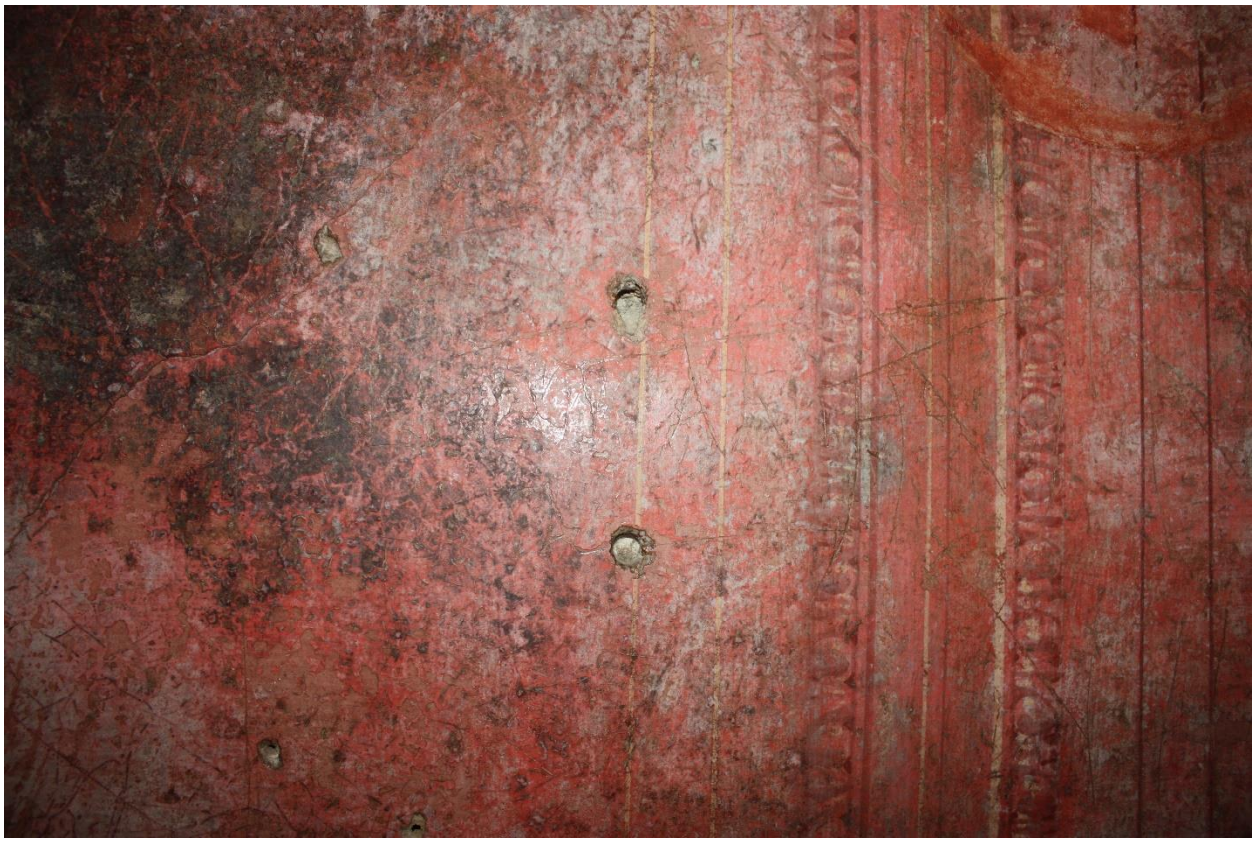


Figure 314: CIL IV 8021, close up, photograph by the author

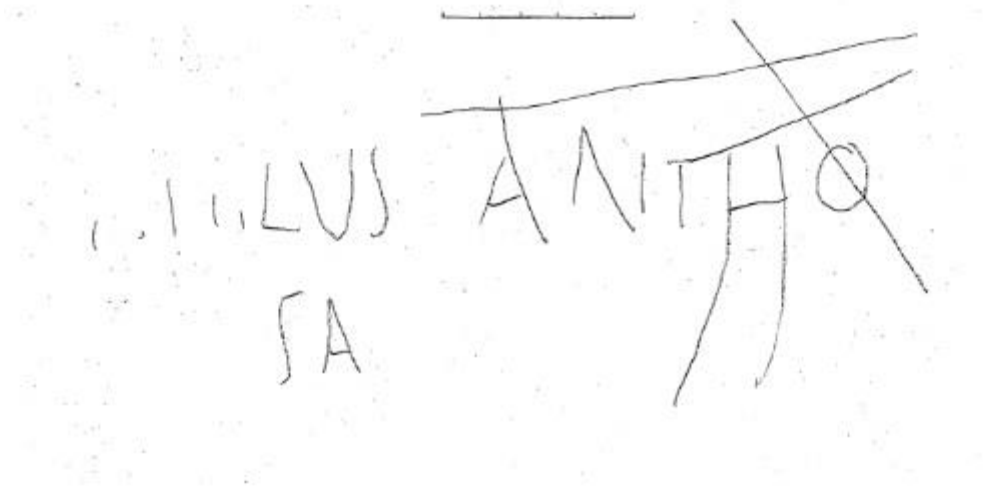


Figure 315: CIL IV 8021, line drawing by the author

Figure 316: CIL IV 8022, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 317: CIL IV 8022, close up, photograph by the author

Figure 318: CIL IV 8022, close up, photograph by the author

Appendix A- Formulae used in access analysis

Connectivity

Connectivity = Number of neighbors

Control Value

Control= ∑ (1/C(n1, n2, etc.))
C= connectivity
N= neighbor

Mean Depth

MD= Σdk / k-1[683]
D = depth
K = number of spaces

Relative Asymmetry

RA = 2 (MD - 1)/ k – 2

Real Relative Asymmetry

RRA= RA/D value[684]

[683] (Stöger 2011, 62)
[684] The table of D-values can be found in *The Social Logic of Space*, 112. Dividing by the D-value manually is easy. One must find the corresponding number of rooms on the chart to identify the corresponding D-Value.

Appendix B- Types of graffiti

The following is the typology I developed to categorize the graffiti in this dissertation. Each graffito was categorized in up to three types. Type 1 was the prominent characteristic of the graffito.

Alphabet- alphabet (both Greek and Latin)

Commerce- prices, goods and services; not brothel related

Charcoal- graffito written in charcoal

Cities, towns, buildings- Names of other town or inhabitants, mentions Rome or Romans

Date- month with or without day signifier

Drawing- any type of pictorial representation

Entertainment- mention of name with gladiator type, drawing of gladiator, theater, actors

Greeting to male- male name, usually with sal(utem), can also be with va(le)

Greek- anything written in Greek

Greek name- Greek name, can be written in Latin or Greek

Imperial- mentions political figures from beyond Campania (Nero, Poppaea, etc.)

Magic- graffito about magic, potions, or sorcery; anything written backwards

Mistake- grammatical error or crossed out[685]

Mythology- names of gods, heroes, or other figures from Greek or Roman mythology

Name (male) - male name, no words that indicate greeting

Numerals- Roman numerals, often in groups

Poetry- any type of poetry or literary reference; extant or unknown authors

Sexual- mentions sex acts, mention price with sex act, mentions genitals

Unidentifiable- indecipherable

[685] See (Kruschwitz 2010b) for reasons for mistakes in graffiti.

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